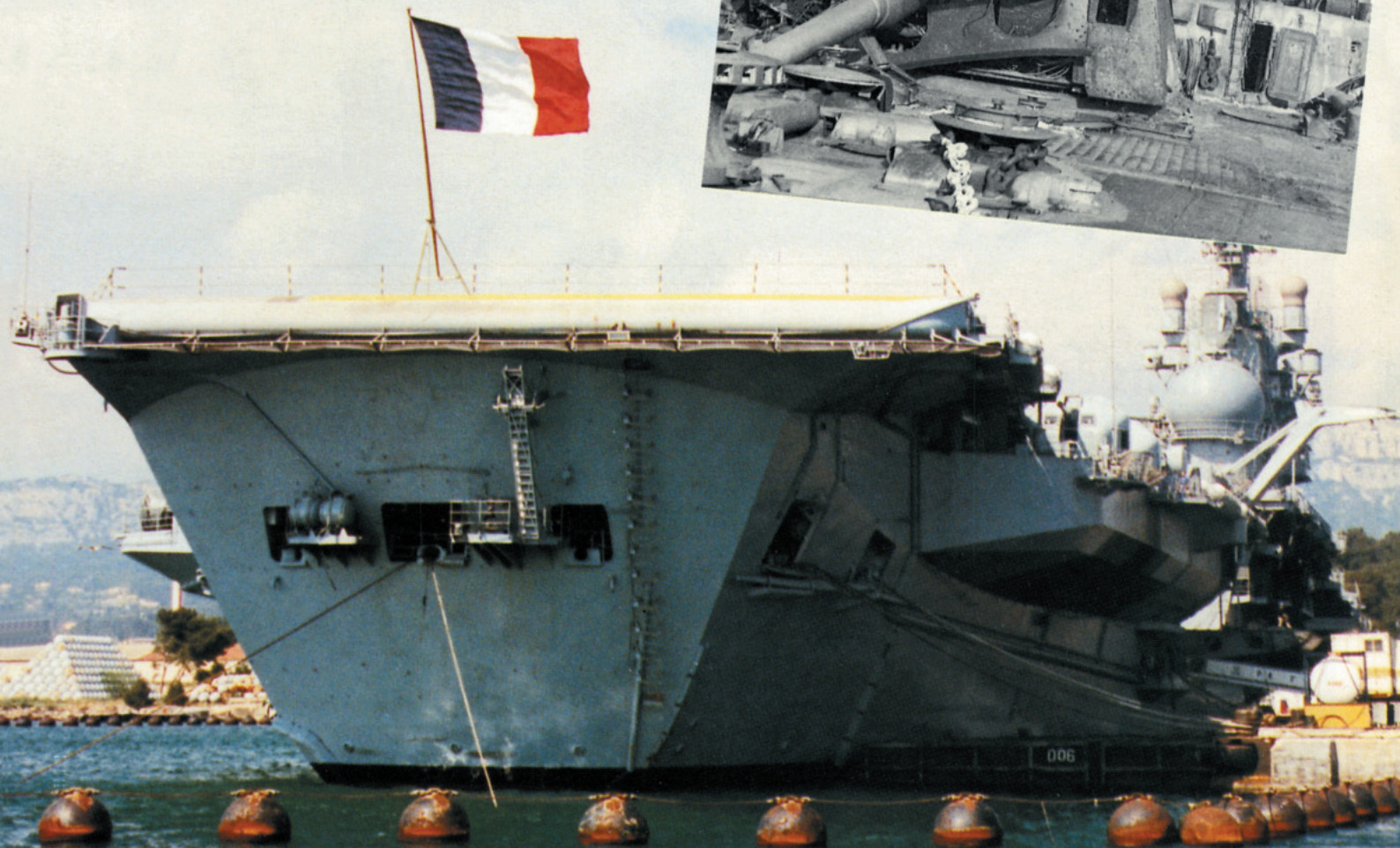


AFTER THE BATTLE



**THE FRENCH NAVY
AT TOULON**

Number 76

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A Prisoner in Scotland

Front Cover: 'Day of Infamy' — November 27, 1942 — at Toulon as a double-cross by Hitler leads the French Navy to scuttle its Fleet. 'Then' the heavy cruiser *Colbert*, its turrets blown apart by demolition charges, settles on the bottom. 'Now' the aircraft carrier *Foch* occupies the same mooring on Milhaud Quay. (ECPA/J. P. Pallud)

Centre Pages: A Japanese amphibious tank — a Type 3 (Ka-Chi) lies mouldering on Babelthuap Island in the Pacific. (David Green)

Back Cover: The old railway ferry *Stralsund*, built in 1890, used to transport rockets to Greifswalder Oie for testing, is still being used by Peenewerft at Wolgast. Now it is hoped she will be preserved. (Reinhard Kramer)

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The two leading players in Vichy France: Maréchal Philippe Pétain, the Chef de l'Etat, and Amiral François Darlan, commander of the armed forces (Army, Navy and Air Force). Pétain was a French national hero, stemming from his successful defence of Verdun in 1916. He was created Marshal of France in 1918 and accorded high military office before being appointed premier in the last hours of defeat in June 1940. The Maréchal was then 84 years old and he led the government established in the French town of Vichy until 1944. Darlan had been Chief-of-Staff in the French Navy since 1936, a function which took the name of Commander-in-Chief in August 1939. From February 1941 to April 1942 he was Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister. (ECPA)

By the end of the First World War, the French Navy had been badly weakened, and the task of reconstruction in the 1920s and 1930s was not an easy one. There was not only the indifference of the French people to contend with but also the determination of the British to maintain their balance of power in Europe. Nevertheless, with dedicated leadership, the French Navy carried out a remarkable modernisation programme so that by 1939, save for five old battleships, none of her ships were more than fifteen years old. Total strength on the outbreak of war was 175 warships comprising approximately 555,000 tons.

The French Navy participated in the Dunkirk evacuation at the end of May 1940, losing some ships, but within two weeks it was obvious that the war for France had been lost. Her trump card was her Fleet, still powerful and eager to fight; consequently it was to be an important bargaining chip in the armistice negotiations between France and Germany.

The French Fleet was also a bone of contention between France and Britain who had no desire to see the modern ships taken over by the Kriegsmarine. Churchill raised the point at his last meeting of the Supreme War Council held in France on June 12 with the C-in-C, Amiral François Darlan. Expressing the hope that the Fleet would never be surrendered, Churchill was told that no ships would be handed over to Germany and, in the last resort, orders would be issued to scuttle the Fleet.

Meanwhile the French Navy was doing its utmost to remove vessels from the Atlantic coast ports threatened by the German advance, ordering all ships to sail either for Oran or Casablanca or, if they were unable to make the Mediterranean, to Britain. Those vessels which reached England before this order was countermanded because of the armistice, included two elderly battleships, *Courbet* and *Paris*; two large destroyers, the *Léopard* and *Triomphant*; eight destroyers, *Mistral*, *Ouragan*, *Branlebas*, *Bouclier*,



THE FRENCH NAVY AT TOULON

La Flore, La Malpomène, La Cordelière, and L'Incomprise; seven submarines, *Surcouf, Rubis, Orion, Ondine, Minerve, Junon* and *La Créole*; thirteen sloops and about two hundred smaller ships. Dozens of others escaped to French ports in Africa, including the two new, but yet uncompleted, 35,000-ton battleships, the *Richelieu*, which had left Brest for Dakar, and her sister ship *Jean-Bart* which had managed to leave Saint-Nazaire just hours before the arrival of German forces. Despite the fact that she lacked adequate power, she succeeded in making her way safely to Casablanca.

Not all managed to escape and three destroyers, *Le Fier, L'Entreprenant* and *L'Agile*, which had just been launched and were being towed to Africa, were bombed by the Luftwaffe and were forced to beach, the former near Oléron Island, the other two at the entrance of the River Gironde. Other ships that could not be moved were either sunk in their harbours or blown up on their slipways. Among these was the *Cyclone*, a destroyer, scuttled at Brest together with four submarines, while another three were sunk at Cherbourg.

When the armistice was signed on June 22, two-thirds of France had been overrun and was occupied by German forces. North of the 'Demarcation Line' all French forces were to remain in captivity until the conclusion of peace and the armed forces demobilised. Munitions in the occupied zone were to be surrendered undamaged and in the unoccupied zone south of the Line, they were to be stored under the auspices of an Armistice Commission. Ships of the Fleet were to return to the home ports to be decommissioned and disarmed under German or Italian supervision. The German government 'solemnly declares to the French government', the armistice terms stated, 'that it has no intention during the war of making effective use of French warships stationed in ports under German control . . .

Moreover, the German government declares, solemnly and formally, that it has no intention of making further claims on the French battle fleet after the conclusion of a peace.'

On June 24, confirming instructions that he had already issued on June 20 and 22, Amiral Darlan sent a note to the Fleet in which he stressed firstly that 'the ships must

By Jean Paul Pallud

remain French, with French crew under French flag, and remain in a French port', and secondly that plans must be laid in secret for scuttling 'so that the enemy, or a for-eigner, having taken a ship by force could not use it'. His third point stressed that if the



The main French naval base was at Toulon on the Mediterranean coast, the flagship of the Fleet being the battleship *Strasbourg*, launched in December 1936. In the picture at the top of the page, she is seen alongside Jetty No. 6 soon after German forces took over the port. On November 27, 1942, the first German tank to arrive from the 8. Kompanie of Panzer-Regiment 25 fired two shots, the second shell entering the rear 130mm turret through the open door and exploding inside, wounding the five French sailors who were preparing demolition charges and killing the officer. (ECPA) Above: In this comparison, the carrier *Clémenceau* (A 98) is moored between Jetty No. 6 and the adjacent No. 5. (We are indebted to the French Marine Nationale for permission to visit and photograph within the still very active naval base at Toulon, and particularly to Capitaine de Frégate Domin who organised our visit.)



Armistice Commission decided to change the status quo then 'the ships will, without waiting for confirming orders, either be sailed to the United States or scuttled. In no case will they be left intact for the enemy'. He also made it clear that the ships 'must not be employed against Germany or Italy without orders from the Commander-in-Chief'.

Save for the cruisers *Algérie*, *Foch*, *Colbert*, and *Dupleix*, and four squadrons of destroyers which had just raided the Italian coast and were back at Toulon, virtually no other French ships remained in France at the end of June. All the rest were either in French harbours in Africa, at Dakar, or at Casablanca and Algiers (six light cruisers and four destroyers), and Mers el-Kebir near Oran (four battleships and seven destroyers). Force X, comprising four cruisers, the old battleship *Lorraine* and five destroyers, were at Alexandria where they had been sent to operate with the Royal Navy.

When Churchill had returned from France on June 12 he had ordered the finalisation of a contingency plan already drawn up in case the French sued for an armistice. Code-named 'Catapult', the plan provided for the capture or sinking of the French Fleet should there be a possibility of it falling into German hands. On June 17, Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham, the commander of the Mediterranean Fleet, was told of the decision to go ahead and, later that same day, Force H was assembled at Gibraltar under Admiral Sir James Somerville to carry the operation into effect.

Final instructions were signalled from London on July 2. French sailors were to be offered the option of either joining forces with the Royal Navy and continuing the fight against the Germans and Italians, or to sail with reduced crews under British control to a British port or French port in the West Indies. If none of these proposals were acceptable, then the French were to be required to sink their ships within six hours. On receiving the terms, Somerville realised that a tragedy was in the making for he knew that the French admirals were, in reality, faced with only two alternatives: either to sink their ships or to have them sunk for them by the Royal Navy.

As those French ships in British ports were being boarded at dawn on July 3 and their crews interned, Force H arrived off Mers el-Kebir. Captain L. E. Holland was sent ashore from *Ark Royal* to try to persuade the French to accept one of the options. The

Mers el-Kebir in French North Africa on July 3, 1940 was France's 'day of infamy' when ships in the naval base near Oran were attacked by the Royal Navy, having refused British demands either to surrender or scuttle themselves. Coming so soon after the two countries had fought alongside each other, it soured relations, especially in the French Navy, as well as costing over 1,250 French lives. (ECPA)

French commander, Amiral Marcel Gensoul, pointed out that the first two choices were in clear violation of the armistice and the third option, to sail for the West Indies, was now impractical for the ships had already been partly disarmed and were not in a fit state to make the hazardous trip across the Atlantic.

Force H opened fire at 4.56 p.m., the French ships immediately slipping their moorings. Although the British fire was returned, the *Dunkerque*, the *Provence* and the *Bretagne* were all hit, the latter capsizing with a loss of over 1,000 lives. The *Strasbourg* managed to escape together with six destroyers making for the huge French naval base at Toulon.

Two years were to pass before Allied

forces mounted an invasion of French North Africa. The Royal Navy had taken measures to stop any of the French warships moored in southern France at Toulon from attempting to interfere with the invasion force by deploying a screen of submarines offshore. However, when it was clear that the French had no intention of leaving harbour, the submarines were withdrawn.

Amiral Darlan, unaware of the impending landings, had flown to Algiers on November 5, 1942, to see his son who was gravely ill and he was caught when Operation 'Torch' was launched three days later. Général Alphonse Juin, commanding French forces in North Africa, quickly agreed a cease-fire with the Allies which was confirmed by Darlan the following day.



When the British War Cabinet decided on offensive action against the French Navy, Churchill realised that there was every possibility of Pétain being provoked into a declaration of war against Britain. In his explanation to Parliament the following day, the British Prime Minister claimed that the attack at Oran was justified in part by the French government having reneged on an agreement to despatch 400 captured German airmen to Britain, instead of which they had been returned to Germany where they were free to fight again. Churchill said that he left judgment of the attack at Oran 'to Parliament . . . to the nation . . . the world and to history'. (ECPA)



Left: The 33,000-ton battleship *Strasbourg*, the flagship of the Force de Haute Mer (High Seas Fleet), was at anchor in the harbour at Mers el-Kebir on July 3, 1940 but she managed to fight her way out under heavy shell-fire. She was a formidable adversary for the Royal Navy, being armed with eight 330mm guns in two quadruple turrets, sixteen 130mm dual-purpose guns in four triple and two double turrets, and eight 37mm AA and 32 13.2mm machine guns. She survived three attacks by aircraft despatched from the *Ark Royal* and, with her top speed of 30 knots, reached Toulon the following day. (Her sister ship, the *Dunkerque*, was badly damaged during the British attack, but she was repaired and sailed back to Toulon on July 20, 1942 for a refit.) **Right:** At Toulon, the commander of the Force de



Haute Mer was Amiral Jean de Laborde, pictured here at Brest in April 1940 inspecting French Alpine troops about to embark for Norway. De Laborde was at odds with Darlan, partly because the latter had been appointed Chief-of-Staff of the Navy in 1936. In November 1942 Darlan was in North Africa at the very moment when Operation 'Torch' was launched. Having quickly agreed a cease-fire with the Anglo-American force, Darlan was pressured into sending a signal to de Laborde in Toulon to surrender the Fleet. To this, de Laborde refused, quoting the same response given to Amiral Muselier by the captain of the sloop *Dumont d'Urville* when pressed in September 1940 to turn over his ship to Général de Gaulle's Free French Forces: 'Merde!' (a particularly rude word in French). (ECPA)

THE FLEET AT TOULON

At the Toulon naval base, the key figure was Amiral Jean de Laborde, the commander of the Forces de Haute Mer (the High Seas Fleet). He was subordinated directly to the Admiralty at Vichy and not to Vice-Amiral André Marquis, the Préfet Maritime at Toulon, who was in command of the 3ème Région.

De Laborde's appointment in September 1940 to command the High Seas Fleet at Toulon came as a complete surprise in view of his personal rivalry with Amiral Darlan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Navy. The characters of the two men were diametrically opposite. Darlan was a product of the democratic left, while de Laborde had aristocratic origins. The difference was aggravated even more by the fact that Darlan, backed by his political friends then in power, had been appointed Chief-of-Staff of the Navy in 1936, a job that de Laborde, senior to Darlan (both were Vice-Amirals but de Laborde was the senior by two months) wanted for himself. De Laborde was, particularly since Mers el-Kebir, fervently anti-British, and he was increasingly swayed by Prime Minister Pierre Laval's collaboration policy.

The appointment of de Laborde as commander of the High Seas Fleet had been backed by Pétain, who viewed the antagonism between the two leaders of the Navy as a way of controlling them more effectively, and by Laval who knew that de Laborde was a supporter of his policy. For a long time now, any decisions involving the Fleet were taken only on political grounds.

De Laborde saw the Allied landings in North Africa on November 8 as pure aggression, and immediately proposed to the Admiralty that the Fleet should sail to mount a surprise night attack on the 'invaders' off North Africa. The Vichy Secretary of State for the Navy, Contre-Amiral Gabriel Auphan, quickly replied that such action was out of the question for the time being, and that any decision to go ahead would be made

by the government. Auphan knew that no one else at Vichy had thought of an attack, and he was of the personal opinion that the Fleet must now sail to North Africa and join forces with the Allies. Although he was well aware that de Laborde supported the opposite camp, this was not a major problem for he knew that de Laborde was a loyal officer who would comply with any orders given to him by the Admiralty. Auphan knew that if he was able to convince Pétain that he should give the order, the Fleet would support the Allies.

At Toulon, though, anti-Gaullist and anti-British feelings were still running high in the Navy after the drama of Mers el-Kebir, initial anger at the news of the Allied 'aggression' against the French at Casablanca and Oran quickly subsided, being replaced with the desire and hope that now the Fleet could sail to Africa to join Darlan and resume the battle against Germany. Rumours indicated that Darlan had knowingly come to North Africa to wait for the Allies, that Pétain was backing him, and that the Fleet was ready to depart as soon as Pétain boarded the *Strasbourg*. On the other hand, most of the officers at Toulon were loyalist to the end and would comply only with orders received from the government at Vichy, even if these orders were far from what they wanted personally. Each had sworn an oath to Pétain and his authority would be obeyed, come what may. Heated discussions took place on board the moored ships between their captains and junior officers about the idea of arbitrarily sailing to Algiers or Oran, but loyalty to duty always won the day. Even at the highest level, admirals like de Laborde and Négadelle, who were fervent supporters of the collaboration, and would have complied with blind obedience to any order sending them to attack the Allied armada off North Africa, would also have equally carried out without question any instruction to fight with the Allies.

On numerous occasions there were vociferous demands from the crews to sail to Algiers; cries of 'Vive de Gaulle! Appareillage' (Set sail!) were reported on the *Colbert*, on the *Foch*, on the *Kersaint* and on other ships. This even happened on the French flagship *Strasbourg*, whereupon Amiral de Laborde angrily ordered that the men concerned be put under close arrest. In all cases, the captains refused to discuss the matter with their crews, re-affirming their decision to comply only with legally-issued orders.

On November 10, Amiral Darlan issued orders to the armed forces in Pétain's name for a cease-fire in North Africa and the observance of complete neutrality. At the same time, under pressure from the Americans, but under no illusion as to the answer he would receive, Darlan in Algiers sent a message to de Laborde urging him to sail the Fleet to Dakar but his refusal was only to be expected.

When the news of Darlan's cease-fire arrived at Vichy, a number of people including Général Weygand and Contre-Amiral Auphan tried to persuade Pétain to approve Darlan's decision. The Prime Minister was not present at the time (Laval was en route to Munich for a meeting with Hitler), but his supporters urged Pétain not to agree to anything until he returned. Laval then telephoned and said that any decision to support Darlan would be very unwise in the light of the relationship between Vichy and the Germans. Pétain therefore withdrew his initial approval and officially disavowed Darlan's action, but three days later he made it known to Darlan, through a coded message from Contre-Amiral Auphan, of the 'intimate backing of the Maréchal and President Laval' but that an official decision depended on the occupying forces. Auphan, who wanted Pétain to approve of Darlan's action and to get the Fleet under way to North Africa, was then informed that all this was only a ploy to gain time.

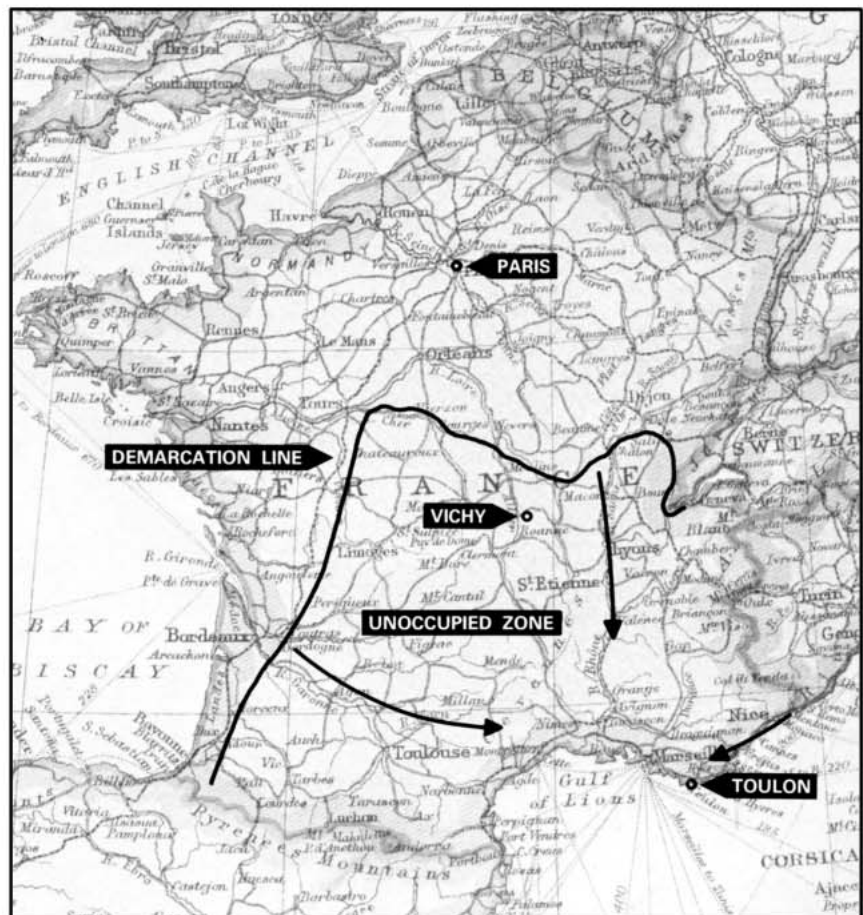


OPERATION 'ANTON'

With France's southern Mediterranean coast now vulnerable to the Allies after their successful beach-heads in North Africa, the take-over of the still unoccupied southern part of France was the logical German military response to Operation 'Torch'. On November 7, Oberbefehlshaber West (the Commander-in-Chief on the Western Front), Generalfeldmarschall Gerd von Rundstedt, was ordered to prepare Operation 'Anton' for the occupation of the 'Zone Libre' or 'free' southern part of France. In reality, this was just a variation on Operation 'Attila', for which plans had been drawn up as early as the end of 1940 at a time when relations between the victorious Reich and the French government in Vichy were somewhat strained. On December 10, 1940, Hitler had issued his Directive No. 19 which stated that: 'In case those parts of the French Colonial Empire now controlled by Général Weygand should show signs of revolt, preparations will be made for the rapid occupation of the still unoccupied territory of continental France. At the same time it will be necessary to lay hold of the French Home Fleet and on those parts of the French Air Force in home bases, or at least to prevent their going over to the enemy . . . In order to take steps to prevent the sailing of the French Fleet and its going over to the enemy, all possible information will be obtained of the position, state of readiness, possibility of capture, etc., of each ship . . . Preparations for Operation 'Attila' must be kept the closest secret. The Italians will be given no information about our preparations and intentions.'

In May 1942, therefore, the plan was dusted off and given the new name of Operation 'Anton'. The troops for 'Anton' were to come from the 1. Armee, which was presently occupying the Atlantic coast from the River Loire to the Spanish border. Overall responsibility was vested in the staff of the 7. Armee, commanded by Generaloberst Friedrich Dollmann, as they had drafted the detailed plans for the earlier operation. However, this time the Italians were to be included and while their 4a Armata was to occupy the French Riviera, the Italians were also to land a division in Corsica.

The armistice signed at Compiègne in June 1940 split France into two zones, roughly along the line of the furthest advance achieved by German forces, which remained in occupation of two-thirds of the country to the north of the 'Demarcation Line'. The unoccupied zone to the south was left under the control of the 'independent' Pétain government, which openly supported Franco-German 'collaboration'.

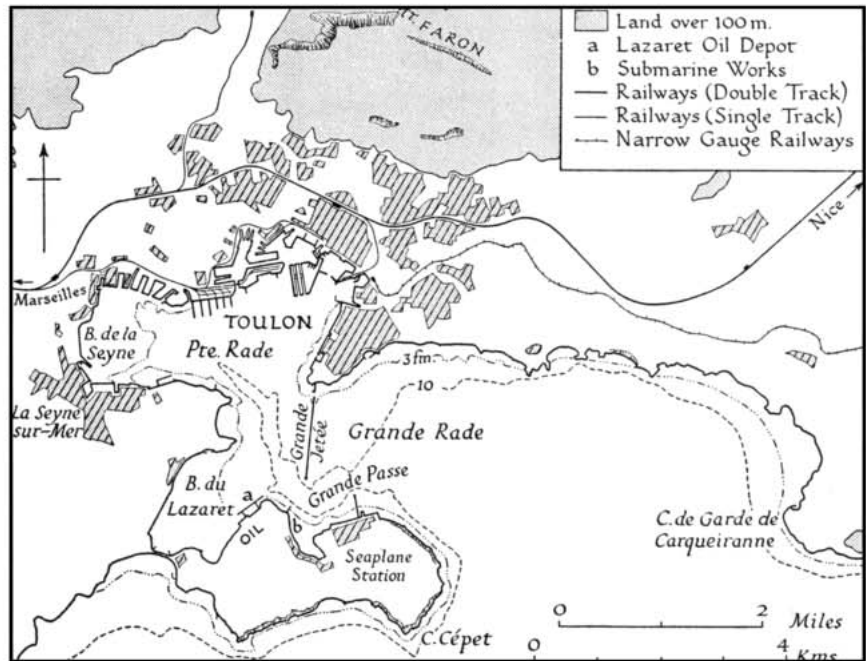


With the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa on November 8, 1942, Hitler could no longer leave the southern portion of France undefended, and within three days German forces had crossed the Line and advanced towards the Mediterranean coast. Even so, they stopped short of the area surrounding Toulon. (ECPA)

Early on November 8, orders were issued by 1. Armee to prepare at once for Operation 'Anton' and the units involved assembled in their respective jumping off positions all along the demarcation line. The 7. Panzer-Division, which was to have a key rôle in the operation in advancing along the Atlantic coast, marched southwards through the occupied sector and assembled five kilometres behind the line. By the evening of November 10, all the units were ready and waiting, and the 1. Armee made it known that A-Tag (D-Day) was to be November 11, and that Y-Zeit (H-Hour) would be 0700.

Pétain and Weygand had long discussed the possibility of German entry into the unoccupied zone with the commanders of the Vichy Army, and all had been forced to agree that there was no possible way of resisting it. Accordingly, French outposts were ordered not to try to oppose the German move, but Pétain broadcast during the day, angrily reproaching the Germans for violating the terms of the 1940 armistice. By the evening, the advanced parties of the 7. Panzer-Division had passed Toulouse, and they reached the Mediterranean coast the following day.

Meanwhile, Admiral Paul Wever, the German naval representative on the Armistice Commission in Wiesbaden, had reinforced the position that the French admirals at Toulon must remain loyal to their government. At the same time, the Commander-in-Chief of the Kriegsmarine, Grossadmiral Erich Raeder, was convincing Hitler that it would be a political mistake to capture the Fleet and that it would be wiser to wait and try to push the French admirals into co-belligerence with the Axis forces. Hitler gave his agreement to this line of approach late on November 11, and Wever reaffirmed to de Laborde that if the armistice terms regarding the Fleet were respected, Toulon would not be occupied. Both he and Vice-Amiral Marquis at Toulon were pressed to involve themselves in the defence of the port against any attack from the Allies or French forces 'hostile to the Vichy government'. Contre-Amiral Auphan acquiesced to this arrange-



Toulon was — and is still — the principal French naval base on the Mediterranean. Its splendid natural harbour contains both outer and inner roadsteads, the outer one being separated from the Mediterranean by the Cépet Peninsula, which lies east and west, parallel to the coast. The peninsula is attached to the mainland westward by a sandy spit. The entrance is about six kilometres wide, extending from Cap Cépet to Cap de Carqueiranne. The western part of the Grande Rade is limited by Grande Jetée, running southwards from the mainland and 1,250 metres in length. The inner roadstead, which is sheltered from easterly winds by the jetty, consists of several anchorages: Baie du Lazaret to the south, Baie de la Seyne to the west, and the Petite Rade to the north. In the eastern part there was a depth of 9.4 metres (31 feet) but the western parts were shallower. (Naval Intelligence Division)

ment, although he forbade them to carry out offensive operations at sea.

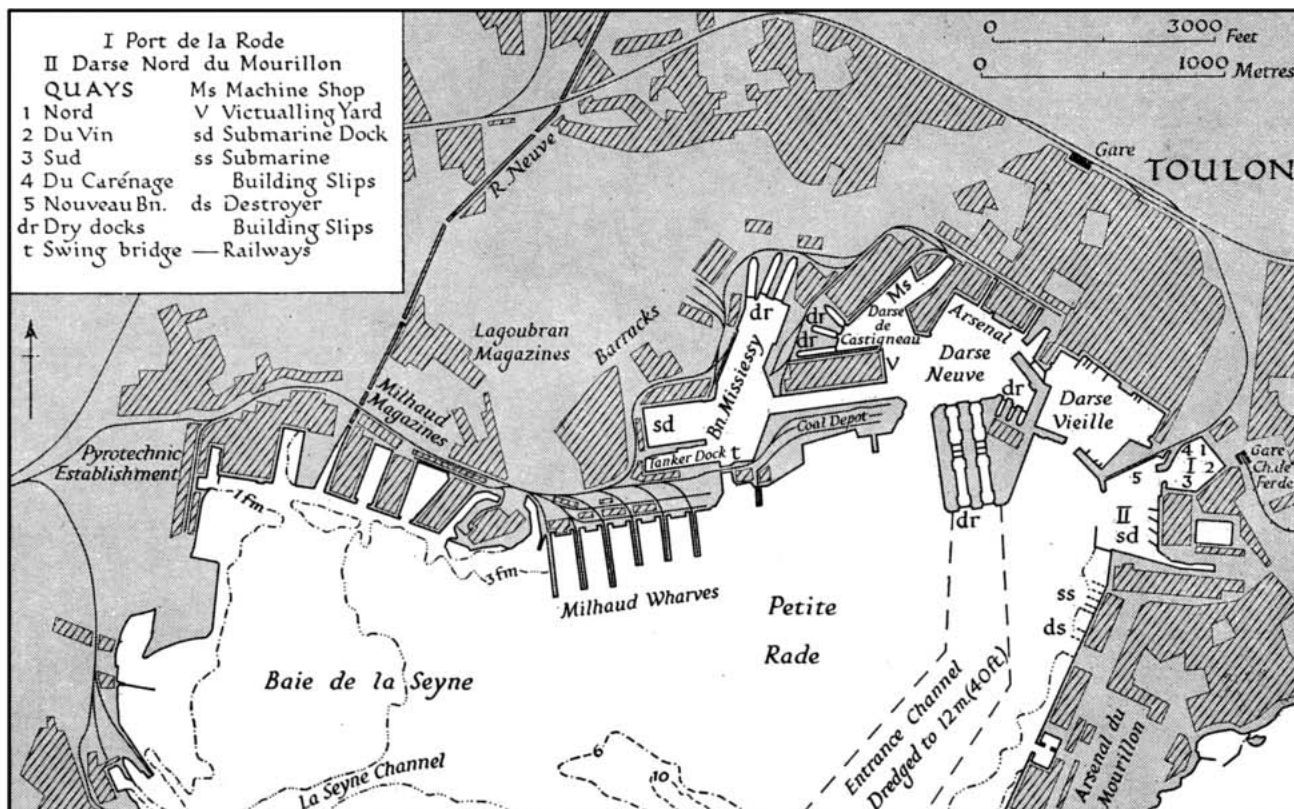
Operation 'Anton' proceeded as planned, and German and Italian troops were soon entrenched all along the southern coast of France save the Toulon sector. There, the

Germans had stopped short at Bandol in the west, about 20 kilometres from Toulon, and at Cuers, about 15 kilometres to the north. To the east, Italian troops advancing from Menton had halted at Solliès, about 15 kilometres from the port.



Hitler was anxious not to arouse a backlash from an immediate attempt to take over the French Fleet, so German forces were

halted some 15 kilometres from the port. Mingling with local colour, this unit has reached Bandol, west of Toulon.



Toulon harbour was divided into the naval base and the commercial harbour, although in the naval port the Darse Vieille was also available for the use of merchant vessels. The Naval Intelligence Division produced this summary for the plan in October 1942: 'The naval port comprises the Darse de Missiessy, Darse de Castignieu, Darse Neuve (or Vauban) and Darse Vieille on the northern side of the Petite Rade, and the Darse du Mourillon on the eastern side. Extending southwards from the wharf close to and west of the entrance to Darse de Missiessy, Port Lagoubran (or Quai Milhaud) consists of six parallel jetties connected with the railway system. Two smaller jetties extend from the coal depot which lies east of the entrance to the dock. Various arsenals, workshops and

barracks lie around these basins, and partly shut off the town from the waterfront. To the west, on the north shore of Baie de la Seyne, are the Milhaud magazines, built around three small basins, and behind the Lagoubran magazines. In the extreme west is the pyrotechnic establishment. On the east side of the Rade, on the shore of the Mourillon Peninsula, are several more sections of the naval base: a submarine station in the Darse du Mourillon, opening off the commercial port, and further south building yards for submarines and destroyers. The oil tanks and wharves of the Lazaret depot are located on the south side of the roadstead while nearby is the Schneider submarine works. On the shore of the Grande Rade, an extensive seaplane station is situated just inside the entrance to the south.'

THE LAST DAYS OF THE FLEET

On November 12, de Laborde issued an Order of the Day in which he informed the Fleet of his orders and ended with the re-affirmation that 'no foreigner will come on board'. He then summoned all the ships' captains to his office and asked them to give their word to respect the instructions he had been given. The first ten agreed without argument, each telling the Admiral: 'You have my word', but the eleventh, the commander of the destroyer *Taru*, Capitaine de Vaisseau Mathieu Pothuau, remained silent. Pressed by de Laborde, the captain refused to comply and retorted that if he gave his word, it would last only until he had sent in his resignation. Furious at the insubordination, de Laborde answered that this would not be necessary as he was firing the captain on the spot. (Pothuau was arrested some months later by the Gestapo and deported to Germany. He survived the war and later became a Vice-Amiral in 1950.) Pothuau's command was offered to another officer, who refused it, so de Laborde had to select an officer from his own staff to take his place. Another officer, the second-in-command of the destroyer *Verdun*, also refused to give his word and was immediately ordered ashore.

That afternoon, Darlan broadcast on Radio Algiers, urging his admirals to join with the Allies 'to fight with them for Liberty', pointing out that 'Hitler now wants to take the Fleet. You must not let him succeed. Sail immediately to Gibraltar and join us!'



The code-name assigned to what was in reality the second part of Operation 'Anton' was 'Lila': the entry into the Toulon enclave and the seizure of the French Fleet, in spite of the fact that all the naval experts warned that the attempt would end in failure. Here weaponry of 5. Batterie of Panzer-Artillerie-Regiment 90 from 10. Panzer-Division (part of Kampfgruppe A commanded by Oberst Edgard Feuchtinger) advances near La Ciotat to take up its position ready for the off. (ECPA)

On November 13, Auphan received a message from Raeder which re-stated the armistice terms regarding the Fleet and confirmed that the defence of Toulon was to remain a French responsibility. Raeder was undoubtedly sincere, but Hitler was only playing for time and it seems certain that the assurance he had given to his Grand Admiral was merely an expedient.

The limits of the cordon sanitaire around Toulon were then agreed with General-major Alexander Neubronn von Eisenburg of the Armistice Commission, and Vice-Amiral Marquis was appointed its commander. He took immediate measures to expel Gaullist elements, and ordered the re-arming of the artillery batteries, particularly the anti-aircraft units. About 50,000 men from the Armée d'Armistice (basically what was left of the French Army) were brought in to man the defences of the perimeter. Naturally the majority of the defences had been built facing the sea, and de Laborde and Marquis, blindly trusting the Germans, had one major preoccupation: to oppose an attack from the sea by the Allies. There was no thought that the real enemy might well be the one behind their backs.

Admiral Wever visited Toulon on November 14, where he met de Laborde and Marquis. They both displayed total trust in the Germans and gave them full details of their available forces. However, both the French and German admirals were being fooled by Hitler and the OKW and this meeting and the conversations were somewhat surrealistic.

On November 15, de Laborde flew to Vichy to meet Pétain but he was disappointed that the Maréchal only saw him for a few minutes. He then met Contre-Amiral Auphan, who tried to persuade him to save the Fleet and sail for North Africa, but de Laborde reaffirmed his position yet again in that he would only comply with legitimate orders from Pétain. He made no secret of the fact that he was personally backing Laval's collaborationist policy and the conversation ended on a sour note.

The position of Contre-Amiral Auphan was now becoming more and more tenuous, for he was now suspect to the Laval cabal as well as to the Germans. He saw how old and tired Pétain was, and how much under the power of Laval he was, and he realised that he had lost any chance of saving the Fleet. Not willing to take the step of staging a coup, on November 15 he asked to be relieved of his command, and was replaced four days later by Amiral Jean Abrial.

While the French defences were being organised, the Germans played their next card which was a demand for the dissolution of the Armistice Army. Vichy agreed and the order for disbandment was issued on November 18. On the following day the measure was extended to the zone around Toulon, and of the 15,000 or so soldiers already in position within the perimeter, the majority were withdrawn, leaving the Navy to man the defences totally on its own. These measures forced Vice-Amiral Marquis to ask for sailors from the ships' crews to take their place and de Laborde provided the equivalent of six battalions, plus two more composed of crews of the ships held in Armistice Custody. The German measure was a clever one for the ships were thereby even less able to put to sea quickly and, because of the manpower shortage, the defence line had to be reduced and the perimeter compressed. As a result, the Germans occupied Sanary and Oulouloules and the Italians advanced to La Valette.

On November 22 the Armée de l'Air was forced to leave the airfield at Istres and told to withdraw northwards, the airfield immediately being occupied by squadrons from Luftflotte 3.



Aerial reconnaissance of the port was carried out by Luftflotte 3, this surviving picture from German archives having been brought back by Oberfeldwebel Kälbling of 3. Staffel of Fernaufklärungsgruppe 33. He had flown over the port at 1800 metres on November 12 and reported the presence of three battleships, four heavy cruisers, three light cruisers, nine large destroyers and 17 destroyers. The picture was analysed by Unteroffizier Herold as part of the planning for Operation 'Lila' and, although many of the ships had moved their positions by the time the operation was launched on November 27, he correctly identified the following ships alongside the Milhaud jetties: *Strasbourg* (1) at Jetty No. 6; *Colbert* (2) and *Foch* (3) between Jetty No. 5 and Jetty No. 4; *Algérie* (4) alongside Jetty No. 4; three cruisers of the La Galissonnière class (5, 6 and 7) beside Jetty No. 3 and Jetty No. 2; a sloop of the Bougainville class (8) alongside Jetty No. 2; seven destroyers of the Aigle class and Chacal class on both sides of Jetty No. 1. In front of Quai Noël (top right of this picture), he identified eight destroyers of the Bourrasque class and Le Hardi class. By the 27th the *Foch* had left Milhaud to be moored in Darse de Castigneau, and of the three La Galissonnière class cruisers, only the *Marseillaise* remained at Jetty No. 3, *Jean de Vienne* and *La Galissonnière* having been moved to the Missiessy docks. The sloop *D'Iberville* (which was actually of the Bougainville class) had been transferred to a new anchorage in Darse Vauban, and of the seven destroyers moored on both sides of Jetty No. 1, two were no longer there. Likewise the two oilers moored beside Jetty No. 6, opposite the *Strasbourg*, had been moved. (Bundesarchiv)

A. O. K. 1
Mar. Verb. Offz.
Ic/Lw. beim A.O.K.1.

1437 zum Kri. Tagebuch
7. P. Marv.

A.H. Qu., am 12.11.1942.
21.45 Uhr.

3.(F)/33 meldet:

Negativauswertung 14.20 Uhr Hafenbelegung TOULON:

1 Schlachtschiff	" STRASBOURG "
1 "	" PROVENCE "
1 "	unbekannt
4 schw. Kreuzer	
3 leichte Kreuzer	
9 große Zerstörer	
17 Zerstörer	
1 Flugzeugmatterschiff " Kommodore TESTE "	
5 Tanker	
6 U-Boote	

Im Dock:

1 Schlachtschiff (Name unbekannt)
wahrscheinlich 1 Zerstörer.

5 Seeflugzeuge landend.

Aufgenommen: Ogefr. Woitkowitz
Ic/Lw.

16
KW
KTB

Samuel

TOULON'S NAVAL UNITS

Though Toulon was still an 'island' of Free France, the Fleet was now in a very precarious situation, with German and Italian troops lined up only a few kilometres outside the arsenal. After the armistice in June 1940, there were only thirty-odd warships left at Toulon but, since the attacks by the Royal Navy at Mers el-Kebir on July 3 and 6, the French Admiralty had been forced to order back to France the ships they had despatched to African harbours for safety. Thus, in November 1942, there were about eighty warships at Toulon, comprising the Force de Haute Mer, the Forces Navales de la 3ème Région, and the ships in Armistice Custody.

Forces de Haute Mer:

Under the command of Amiral de Laborde, this force was composed of the battleship *Strasbourg*, the 1ère Escadre de Croiseurs which included five cruisers, the *Algérie*, *Dupleix*, *Colbert*, *Marseillaise* and *Jean de Vienne* under Vice-Amiral Emile Lacroix, and the 3ème Escadre Légère (under Contre-Amiral Jean-Louis Négadelle) with thirteen destroyers.

Forces Navales de la 3ème Région:

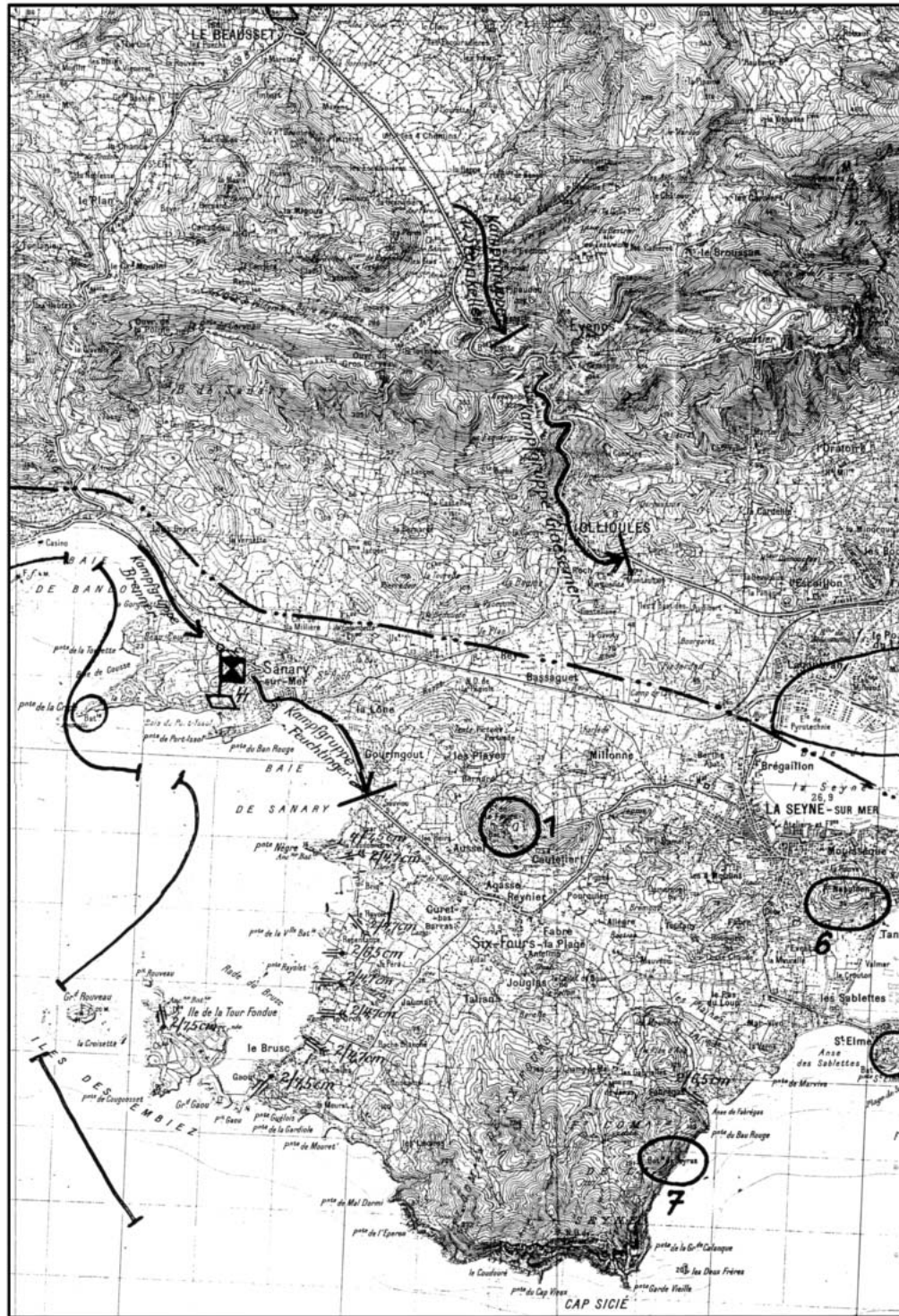
Commanded by Vice-Amiral André Marquis, this was composed of the 1ère Escadre de Torpilleurs with six destroyers, the 3ème Escadre d'Avisos with three sloops, and the 1ère Flotille de Patrouille with about twenty patrol boats. There was also a school flotilla (Contre-Amiral Marcel Jarry) with the old battleship *Provence*, the seaplane carrier *Commandant Teste*, the old battleships *Condorcet* and *Océan*, two sloops and five patrol boats. Besides these forces there was also a group of six armed submarines based at Le Mourillon.

Ships in Armistice Custody:

Disarmed in accordance with the armistice terms were the battleship *Dunkerque*, two cruisers, the *Foch* and *La Galissonnière*, fourteen destroyers, fourteen submarines and several supply and support ships.

Contrary to what has often been written, the Fleet had enough fuel to sail at full speed to North Africa as the crews had managed to keep their tanks more than half full. (Both the fuel gauges and the regular reports which had to be submitted to the Armistice Commission had been falsified, and it is these faked reports that have led authors in the past to state that the Fleet was low on fuel.) It should be noted, however, that the ships were not all fit to sail at short notice. Those in Armistice Custody were disarmed with skeleton crews and many ships were being serviced or repaired either in the inner basins or in dry docks. Among these were the battleship *Dunkerque*, two cruisers, *La Galissonnière* and *Jean de Vienne*, six submarines, and one destroyer which were all dry docked.

On November 14, acting under instructions from Auphan, de Laborde's chief-of-staff, Contre-Amiral Auguste Guérin, had detailed the measures to be taken to scuttle the ships in the event of an attempt by the Germans to seize them, and these details were distributed to all ships' captains. These first emergency measures were simply aimed at capsizing the ships but, ten days later, faced with pleas from Admiralty engineers who hoped it would be possible to later refloat their ships, Amiral Abrial ordered that the ships be scuttled so as to let them settle on the bottom in an upright position. Abrial visited Toulon on November 23, where he met de Laborde and Marquis and told them of his confidence in Hitler's word and the assurances he had received from Raeder, but he warned them in any event to be ready to scuttle if necessary.



OPERATION 'LILA'

On November 19, Hitler decided that it was now time to settle the annoying problem of the French Fleet and, in violation of repeated German declarations, he ordered into effect Operation 'Lila': the capture of the fleet at Toulon.

Placed under the general responsibility of Armeegruppe Felber, the actual operation was entrusted to the SS-Panzerkorps of SS-Obergruppenführer Paul Hausser, and was to involve elements of the 7. Panzer-Division (about two-thirds); the 10. Panzer-Division (one regiment of infantry, one battalion of artillery and one company each of engineers and tank-destroyers); the SS-Panzer-grenadier-Division 'Das Reich' (the divisional reconnaissance battalion), and various other army reserve units.

Because the purpose was to capture intact

as many of the French warships as possible, the Kriegsmarine had been asked to lend a hand, and navy specialists had been involved in the preliminary discussions, among them being Admiral Wever himself. Fregattenkapitän Hugo Heydel made it clear right from the start that, in his opinion, the chance of capturing the ships was nil, for he was convinced that the French had already made all the preparations for carrying out their own 'Scapa Flow'. Nevertheless, the planning went ahead and the Kriegsmarine was ordered to provide 800 sailors to actually board the warships and 1,500 men to man the coastal batteries. (According to Kapitän Rolf Gumpich, commanding the sailors, the Germans had planned to give all the major ships, from large destroyers to battleships, to the Italians, and only the smaller units were to be transferred to the Kriegsmarine.)



The Luftwaffe was also involved, and General Hugo Sperrle soon joined the planning staff, his Luftflotte 3 having to carry out reconnaissance flights over Toulon, to mine the channels to the harbour and, if the Fleet tried to escape, to attack and sink the ships. Heinkel He 111s from KG2 based at Istres were to carry out the mining operation, while Junkers Ju 88s from KG54 flying from Cagliari and Heinkel He 115s from KG26 from Grosseto were to stand by with bombs and torpedoes to attack any ships which left harbour. Further bomber squadrons of He 111s and Ju 88s were also on hand at Istres and Nîmes.

By November 25 the preparations for Operation 'Lila' were well under way with the leading elements of the SS-Panzer-grenadier-Division 'Das Reich' being assembled near Brignolles and those of the

The German plan as at 4.00 a.m. on November 27. Kampfgruppe A has reached Gouringout. This assault group had seven targets in the Saint-Mandrier Peninsula: three forts (1, 2, 6) and four batteries (3, 4, 5, 7). Their first target was Fort de Six-Fours (1). Kampfgruppe Brenner was following on and had reached Sanary. Kampfgruppe B, commanded by Oberstleutnant Wolfgang Glaesemer, was at Ollioules from where it had to capture the harbour and the Fleet (1). Oberstleutnant Friedrich-Karl von Steinkeller was just behind with Kampfgruppe C. Its targets were the fortresses at Grand-Saint-Antoine (2) and Mont-Faron (3) and the barracks at Sainte-Anne (4). Meanwhile, Kampfgruppe D of SS-Sturmabführer Jakob Fick at Beaulieu had five places to capture: Fort Lamalgue (1), the radio station (2), the Mourillon Arsenal (3), Fort du Cap Brun (4) and Fort Sainte-Marguerite (5). (Bundesarchiv)

7. Panzer-Division between Aix and Gemenos. However, the sailors promised by the Kriegsmarine arrived late and Kapitän Gumpich, the officer in charge, was rushed from Berlin to Paris on November 24 where he had met Generalfeldmarschall von Rundstedt, and from there on to Marseilles the following day. While par-

ticipating in a staff meeting held at Aix-en-Provence on the 25th, Gumpich confessed that he was not at all certain where the trains were going to be found to bring the 3,200 men from Lorient, Brest and Kiel. He also made it patently clear that he was convinced that the French would sink all their ships anyway.



The operation begins. What pictures are available of the advance are uncaptioned so apart from identifying these vehicles from their formation signs as belonging to Panzer-Artillerie-Regiment 90 (i.e. Kampfgruppe A) near La Ciotat, there is little other detail to go on. For a late November day, with sunrise at Toulon coming at 7.44 a.m., the picture may well have been taken the day before. (ECPA)

The first troops — 8 officers and 200 men — from the Kriegsmarine arrived that afternoon and reported to the 7. Panzer-Division headquarters. Although more arrived during the night, it seems that only about 400 sailors were actually on hand and able to be included in the assault teams.

On November 25 the SS-Panzerkorps issued the 'Korpsbefehl Nr. 1' which detailed orders for the occupation of the arsenal at Toulon, the capture of the warships in the harbour, and the fortresses protecting it. The operation was initially planned for November 26 but it was delayed by last-minute difficulties and was eventually launched on November 27.

Initially, the SS-Panzerkorps had planned to deploy three battle-groups, but the task initially assigned to Kampfgruppe 2 soon appeared too large and it was split in half during the detailed planning. The eventual plan was finalised with four battle-groups.

Kampfgruppe A:

Under the command of Oberst Edgar Feuchtinger, the commander of the Artillerie-Brigade, Kampfgruppe A was to advance from the west and capture the peninsula south of Toulon, the town of La Seyne, the fortresses of Napoléon and Six-Fours, and the Saint-Mandrier Peninsula which controlled the access to the harbour. The heavy anti-aircraft batteries at Fort de Six-Fours were a menace to the Luftwaffe and Oberst Feuchtinger had orders to secure them as early as possible, at least by 0500. Most of the artillery to be employed was to travel with Kampfgruppe A so as to reach positions on the coast east of La Seyne as fast as possible. From there, these batteries would then be able to control the entrances to the inner harbour at Toulon. The 'artillery' rôle assigned to Kampfgruppe A was its main task, this importance being emphasised by the choice of an artilleryman as the Kampfgruppe commander.

The Kampfgruppe was composed of the following units, the first four coming from the 10. Panzer-Division, the others being army reserve units:

- Panzergranadier-Regiment 69 (infantry)
- I. Abteilung, Panzer-Artillerie-Regiment 90 (artillery)
- 2. Kompanie, Panzer-Pionier-Bataillon 49 (engineers)
- Panzerjäger-Abteilung 90
- Artillerie-Regiment 2
- Flak-Regiment 69

A commando unit from the Kriegsmarine of about thirty men under Kapitänleutnant Rudolf Damschen arrived late and was included at the last minute in Kampfgruppe A to help capture the coastal batteries.

Kampfgruppe B:

Under the command of Oberstleutnant Wolfgang Glaesemer, the commander of Pz.Gren.Rgt. 6, Kampfgruppe B was to advance from the west along the N8 to reach the heart of Toulon, occupy the arsenal and capture the Fleet itself. It comprised the following units, all from the 7. Panzer-Division:

- II. Bataillon, Panzergranadier-Regiment 6
- 8. Kompanie, Panzer-Regiment 25
- Kradschützen-Bataillon 7 (motor-cycle troops)
- I. Abteilung, Panzer-Artillerie-Regiment 78
- One company from Panzerjäger-Abteilung 42 (tank-hunters)
- Panzer-Pionier-Bataillon 58

Oberstleutnant Glaesemer had split his force in two parts. The first part, under Hauptmann Gerhard Heilbronn, was to attack the western Porte du Chemin de Fer and rush the moorings on Quai Milhaud, while the second, commanded by Hauptmann Adalbert Weitzel, was to force the northern Porte de Castigneau, and then split into several teams to assault the Missiessy,

Castigneau and Vauban Basins as well as at the docks on Ilôt Vauban.

Having been given the task of actually capturing the French ships, Kampfgruppe B had been assigned the majority of the navy personnel assigned to the operation, and these had been split between Bataillon Weitzel and Bataillon Heilbronn. Besides the Kommando Gumprich of Kapitän Rolf Gumprich, about 800 men of the Kriegsmarine were to form two other units: Kompanie z.b.V. Bansen and Sonderkommando von Hoessle, the nature of the units being explained by their titles — z.b.V. (zur besonderen Verwendung) meaning 'at the disposal of' and Sonder meaning 'special'.

Kampfgruppe C:

Under the command of Oberstleutnant Friedrich-Karl von Steinkeller, the commander of Pz.Gren.Rgt. 7, Kampfgruppe C was to advance from the west behind Kampfgruppe B to secure its rear and flanks and to capture the fortresses at Mont-Faron and Grand-Saint-Antoine and the barracks at Sainte-Anne. It was composed of the following units from 7. Panzer-Division:

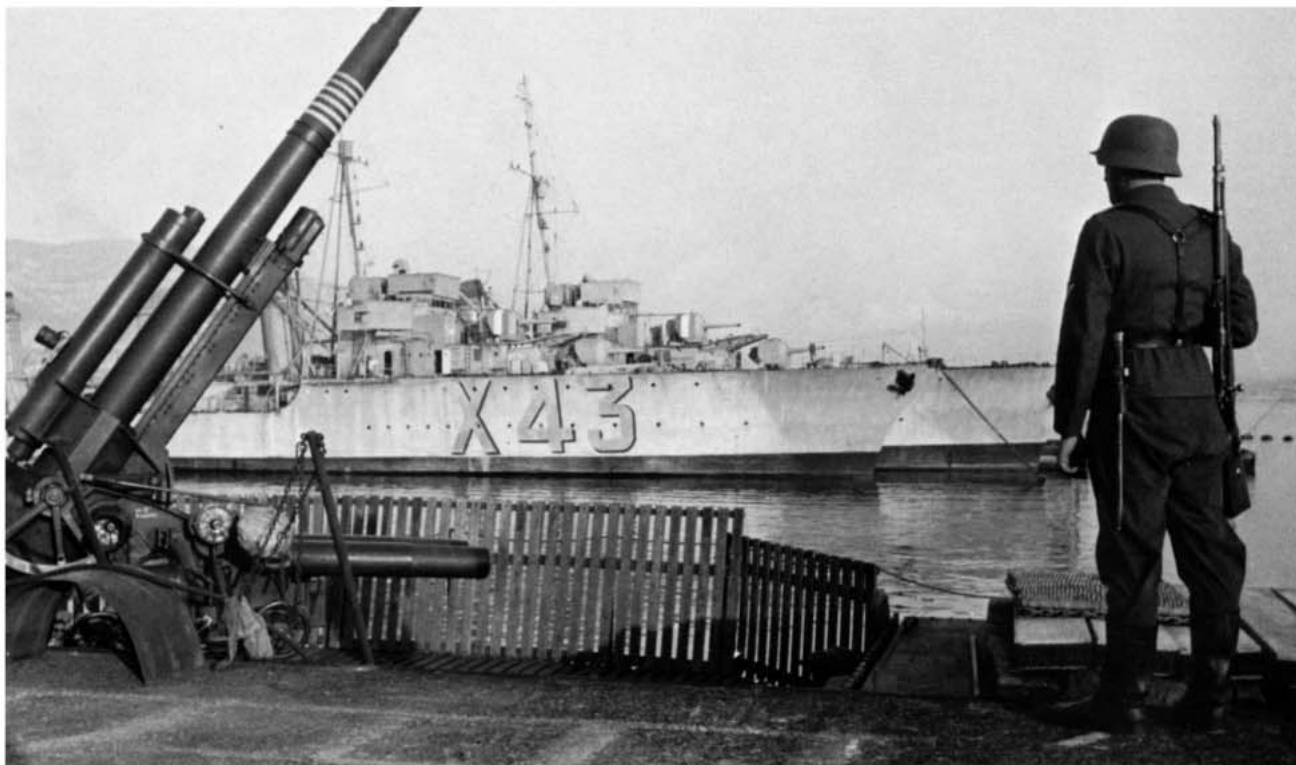
- Panzer-Grenadier-Regiment 7
- III. Abteilung, Panzer-Artillerie-Regiment 78

Kampfgruppe D:

Led by SS-Sturmabführer Jakob Fick, the commander of SS-Kradschützen-Btl. 'Das Reich', Kampfgruppe D was to advance from the east along the N97 after having passed Toulon to the north. It was then to capture the radio station at Le Mourillon, Fort Lamalgue and Le Mourillon Basin. It was comprised of the following:

- SS-Kradschützen-Bataillon 'Das Reich'
- One Flak battery
- One platoon of anti-tank guns
- One radio team

Elements of the SS, Kampfgruppe Brenner under SS-Brigadeführer Karl-Heinrich Brenner, were to advance behind Kampfgruppe A to occupy the Sanary area while further to the west, elements of the 335. Infanterie-Division, about a battalion strong, were to secure the coast.



The operation started as planned in the early hours of November 27. East of Toulon, the vanguard of Kampfgruppe C reached La Valette at 3.20 a.m., neutralised the French position there and then pushed on to Fort Lamalgue where Vice-Amiral Marquis had his headquarters. West of Toulon, the head of Kampfgruppe B was at Ollioules by 3.45 a.m. when it surprised the outpost although the French were able to get a despatch rider away to warn the arsenal.

At Fort Lamalgue the panzers 'knocked at the door', threatening to open fire, and then rushed inside as soon as the gate was opened. Vice-Amiral Marquis was soon captured but his chief-of-staff, Contre-Amiral Marcel Robin, escaped and succeeded in telephoning the Préfecture Maritime, arousing Contre-Amiral Arnaud Dornon, the commander of the arsenal.

Five minutes later, at 4.40 a.m., Dornon had the *Strasbourg* on the line and informed Contre-Amiral Auguste Guérin, chief-of-staff to de Laborde, of the German attack. De Laborde was immediately informed, yet the admiral could not accept the news that the Germans had broken their word. Nevertheless, he immediately ordered that preliminary measures for the scuttling should be taken. Orders were also issued to fire at anybody attempting to force the entrance of the arsenal or trying to climb over the wall.

Kampfgruppe B was fifty minutes late. Bataillon Heilbronn did not reach the western gate of the arsenal, the Porte du Chemin de Fer, before 5.15 a.m., and to the north Bataillon Weitzel reached the Porte de Castigneau only at 5.20 a.m. They lost a few more minutes in discussions with the guards at the gates, for the French on duty had orders to carry out delaying tactics, and it was not until a further ten minutes had elapsed that the two columns actually entered the arsenal. Dornon informed de Laborde, who ordered the final signal to be sent immediately. Signal lamps flashed from the *Strasbourg*, despatch launches sailed through the harbour, and a message to all ships was broadcast by radio, repeating the order: 'Scuttle! Scuttle! Scuttle!'

While the sinking parties were running to their stations to prepare for the destruction of their ships, the rest of the crews were

Toulon — 1942. Virtually the only surface ships which the Germans managed to capture intact were these two destroyers moored between the first and second Milhaud jetties (see sinking plan pages 16-17). The *Panthère* and *Tigre* were disarmed vessels held in Armistice Custody and their commanders mistook all the commotion for an Allied air attack. By the time they realised their mistake it was too late. The ships were later incorporated in the Italian Navy as *FR-22* and *FR-23* respectively.

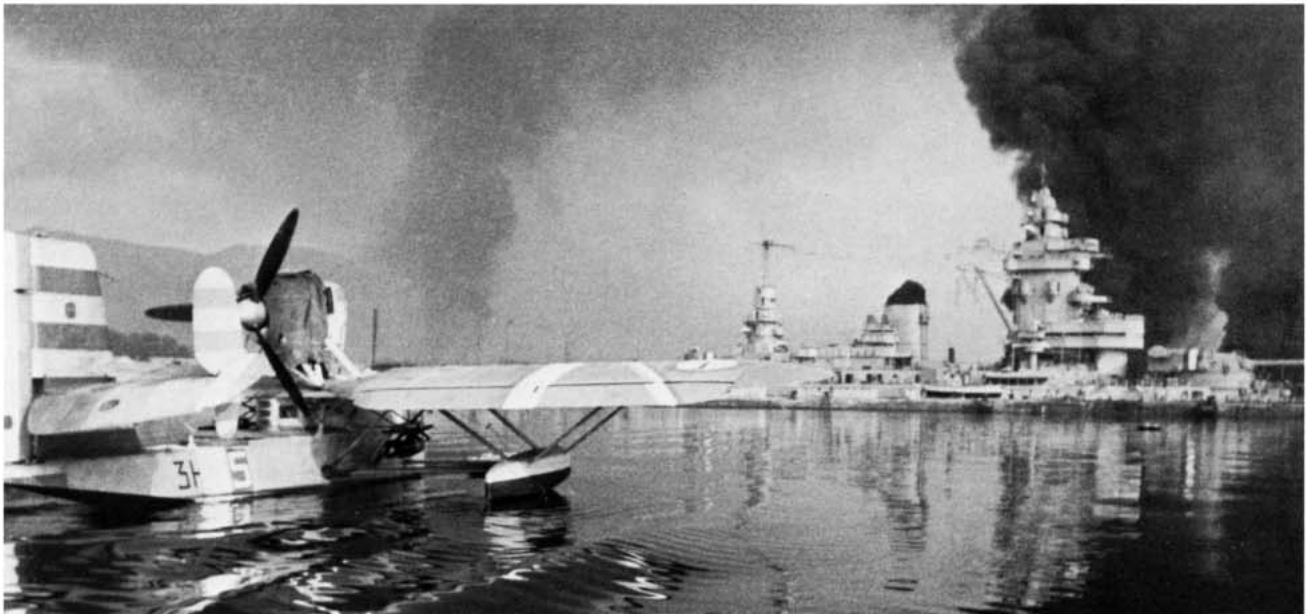
disembarked. As much equipment as possible including radios, ranging and optical devices, etc., was smashed. Sea-cocks were opened, demolition charges were fuzed in the boilers and the engines, explosives were stuffed into gun barrels and fuel was jettisoned.

Meanwhile, the Luftwaffe had started mining the entrance as planned at 5.30 a.m. during which time the whole of the harbour area was illuminated by flares and searchlights. But for a laconic radio report by Kampfgruppe A at 5.37 a.m. 'March as planned. No resistance', the staff of SS-Panzerkorps had to wait for news until a first vague and cautious report was sent to Armeegruppe Felber at 5.55 a.m. The first

detailed reports then started to arrive from the attack parties. At 6.00 a.m. the 335. Infanterie-Division reported the capture of an artillery battery at the Pointe de la Cride, about three kilometres from Sanary, and at 6.15 a.m. it was learnt from Kampfgruppe A that they had reached the Saint-Mandrier Peninsula at 5.54 a.m. as planned. In spite of light resistance, Fort de la Croix des Signaux had been taken. At 6.30 a.m., Kampfgruppe D reported the capture (at 5.15 a.m.) of the radio station at Le Mourillon and of Fort Lamalgue, and Kampfgruppe B reported that the western part of the arsenal was in their hands at 6.45 a.m., and that fighting was taking place near the *Strasbourg* and *Foch*.



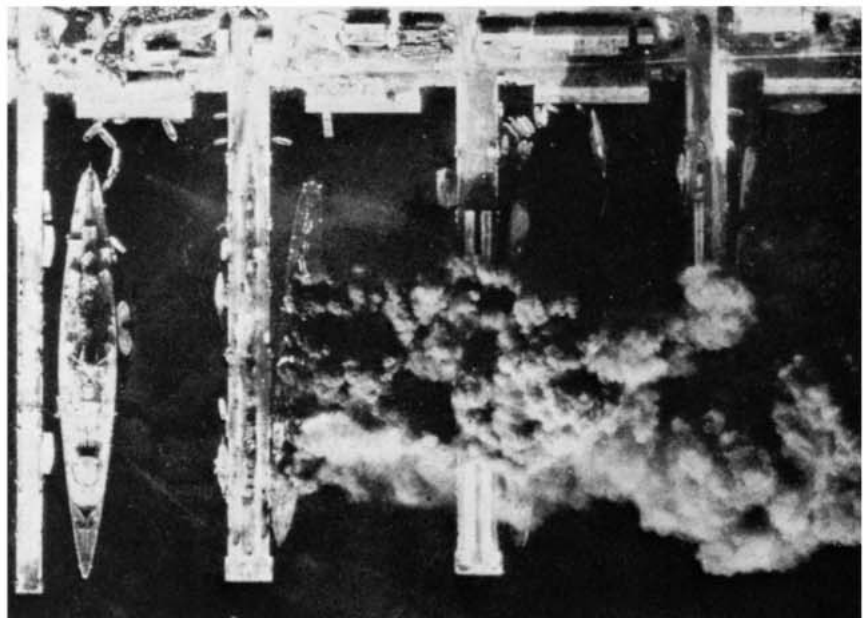
Toulon 1990. The same view looking eastwards towards a French Navy hospital ship, the *Rance* (A 618).



STRASBOURG AT MILHAUD QUAY

On the *Strasbourg* everything was ready for the final act. The demolition charges were in place and fuzed, while down below engineers had cut vital parts of the machinery with blow-torches, and the sea-cocks had been opened. It was just before 6.00 a.m. when elements from Bataillon Heilbronn arrived in front of the Milhaud Quay, a few hundred metres from the *Strasbourg*. The leading PzKpfw IV opened fire twice and machine guns returned fire at them from the rear deck of the battleship. (Other sources report that it was the French who opened up first, the panzers returning the fire.) The first panzer shell missed, but the second hit the rear starboard 130mm turret, killing the officer in charge, Lieutenant de Vaisseau Dominique Fay, and wounding five men then busy fuzing demolition charges in the turret. The panzers backed off, demolishing part of the gate in their haste, taking shelter behind buildings with their accompanying infantry. For ten minutes they waited.

At 6.03 a.m. Kampfgruppe Heilbronn reported that they were then only fifty metres from the *Strasbourg* but that they had been under fire from machine guns and naval gun-fire from the French ships for the last fifteen minutes or so. The Germans then decided to try diplomacy instead and Hauptmann Heilbronn walked onto the quay with an interpreter who shouted in poor French: 'Amiral! My commander asks you to give up



The main prizes — the capital ships — were tied up on the largest of the Milhaud jetties. From L-R: the battleship *Strasbourg* up against Jetty No. 6; the cruiser *Colbert* burning beside Jetty No. 5; her sister ship the *Algérie* hidden by the smoke at Jetty No. 4, with the cruiser *Marseillaise* to the right of Jetty No. 3.



Top: The sunken *Strasbourg* is pictured beyond one of the Loire 130 flying boats with which both she and the cruisers were

equipped. Above: Still an aviation theme beside Jetty No. 6 in 1990 — the carrier *Foch* (A 99). (ECPA)



your ship intact', to which de Laborde answered in a thundering voice: 'The ship is sunk!'

The statement was true, for tons of water were now pouring into the ship which was slowly settling. Having confirmed that the evacuation had been completed as planned (about a thousand men had been disembarked, with only fifty men remaining on board), its commander, Capitaine de Vaisseau Maurice Seyeux, ordered the ship's siren to be sounded as a signal for the final destruction of the ship. It was 6.20 a.m. The fuzes of the demolition charges were set and violent explosions from the engine-rooms, boilers, and turrets rocked the ship, sending debris flying. Conflagrations broke out, the flames setting fire to fuel on the water.

The 11,000-ton *Colbert* was well and truly destroyed. Capitaine de Vaisseau Jean Kraft and his ship's complement did a good job, for not only was the cruiser sunk, but demolition charges of around 70 kg each were exploded in the 203mm turrets, blowing the guns apart. Below left: The cruiser lay beside Jetty No. 5. Our comparison below right shows the *Clémenceau*, the *Foch's* sister ship, both being the first purpose-built aircraft carriers ever to be constructed in France. (ECPA)

1ère DIVISION

Just beside the *Strasbourg*, on the Milhaud Quay, two of the three cruisers of the 1ère Division de Croiseurs were moored. The scuttling order had been received on the *Colbert* and *Algérie* in good time and the end was near when the Germans arrived on the quay just before 6.00 a.m. German officers arrived at the gangplanks of both ships and asked to see the captains. Time was wasted in useless conversation until violent explo-

sions on the *Strasbourg* started rocking the whole harbour. In the face of the unknown danger of unexploded charges aboard the cruisers, the German commanders must have felt that discretion was the better part of valour, as they backed off from going on board. The *Colbert* and *Algérie* were then evacuated and, as the first demolition charges exploded, the Germans quickly sought shelter from the resulting fall-out of steel and iron.





Left: The 13,900-ton *Algérie*, another heavy cruiser of the 1ère Escadre de Croiseurs, had been launched at Brest in 1932. She



suffered similar damage to her four 203mm turrets and ended her days a sunken wreck alongside Jetty No. 4 (right). (ECPA)

The *Algérie*'s captain, Capitaine de Vaisseau Jean Malgouzu, had walked down to the quay to meet the German officer who was insisting that any sabotage was forbidden. Having bought some more time for the sea to enter his ship, Malgouzu then explained that the Germans would have to discuss the whole matter with the admiral commanding the cruiser squadron, Vice-Amiral Emile Lacroix. Commanding the 1ère Division de Croiseurs and the 1ère Escadre de Croiseurs, Lacroix had his flag on the *Algérie*. Knowing that there was at least 2,000 tons of water in the ship, and that the fuzes were already burning, he then calmly walked down the gangway, the last of his men following on behind. The German officer announced that he had come to take over the ship, to which Lacroix replied that it was too late; the ships were sinking.

Not to be outdone, the German then made clear his intention of climbing aboard, whereupon Lacroix pointed out that the ship was about to blow. Accordingly, the German then said he would take the French officers with him, but, just at that moment, the charges exploded, the blast throwing everyone to the ground. His men having run for cover, the German officer was now alone with the French. Reportedly the officer could only exclaim 'What a shame!' and it was some time before he recovered his composure and told the French officers that they were his prisoners. The capture of Vice-Amiral Lacroix was reported to SS-Panzerkorps at 7.30 a.m., by which time the *Colbert* and *Algérie* were burning fiercely, throwing smoke and sparks and roaring like volcanoes, with violent explosions sending debris high in the air. The *Algérie*, beside which was moored a loaded fuel barge, was to burn for twenty days.

The division's third ship, the *Dupleix*, was moored in the Missiessy Basin. The Germans

did not reach her before 6.20 a.m., but these commandos were more enterprising and wasted no time in pointless discussion. As they rushed on board, the *Dupleix*'s captain, Capitaine de Vaisseau Jacques Moreau, ordered that the fuzes be shortened and set, that fires were to be started and the sea-cocks opened. Shouting orders that nobody seemed to understand, the German commandos pushed the French sailors down into the ship where they succeeded in finding and closing the valves. However, the fires were

now taking hold and the charges exploded, destroying all the ship's armament. Knowing that nothing could now save the *Dupleix*, Moreau ordered the final evacuation of his men and the French dropped down to the quayside, followed by the Germans. As it happened, by closing the cocks the Germans had actually assured the complete destruction of the ship, for the fire soon reached the ammunition and torpedo stores and the resulting explosions dismembered the cruiser which was to burn until December 6.



This picture, taken from the *Algérie* looking in a westerly direction, shows the *Colbert* on fire in the foreground with the *Strasbourg* behind. (ECPA)



THE 3ème DIVISION

The *Marseillaise*, one of the two cruisers of the 3ème Division de Croiseurs, was moored further down the same quay. There the scuttling order had been received in good time and at 6.20 a.m. her captain, Capitaine de Vaisseau Octave Montrelay, ordered that the sea-cocks be opened and the fuzes set alight. Eager to deny his ship to the Germans and prevent them from raising her at a later date, Montrelay had refused to sink her upright and, contrary to his orders, he scuttled her so that she capsized.

Only a handful of men were still on board to monitor the sinking operation. At about 6.30 a.m., with the charges about to blow, a German commando unit appeared at the gangplank. They politely asked permission to board the ship, a request which Contre-Amiral Henri Bléhaut, the commander of the 3ème Division who had his flag in the *Marseillaise*, promptly turned down. The Germans made no further move and just stood on the quayside watching as the *Marseillaise* slowly sank, taking on an increasing list with fires burning fiercely. Bléhaut then walked down the gangway,

The 1932-vintage cruiser, *Marseillaise*, 13,900 tons, was moored beside Jetty No. 3 and her captain, Capitaine de Vaisseau Octave Montrelay deliberately disobeyed orders and adjusted the sea-cocks so that she capsized, thus making it more difficult to refloat her. Her two sister ships, the *Jean de Vienne* and *La Galissonnière* were in dry dock in Darse de Missiessy (see plan overleaf) and also sunk. (ECPA)

followed some time later by Montrelay who had made a final check that everything was as planned. Then, as the last man left, the charges went off. Taking Bléhaut and the ship's officers prisoner, the Germans then led them to the Castigneau Gate where they met up with Vice-Amiral Lacroix.

The capsizing measures ordered by Montrelay proved to be efficient and the *Marseillaise* settled on the bottom with a 40 degree list. She was to burn until December 3.

The other cruiser of the 3ème Division de Croiseurs, the *Jean de Vienne*, was in a dry dock at Missiessy and, as preparations were set in motion for blowing up the ship, Capitaine de Vaisseau Jacques Mailloux ordered the ship to be moved a few metres so that she would sink right in the entrance of

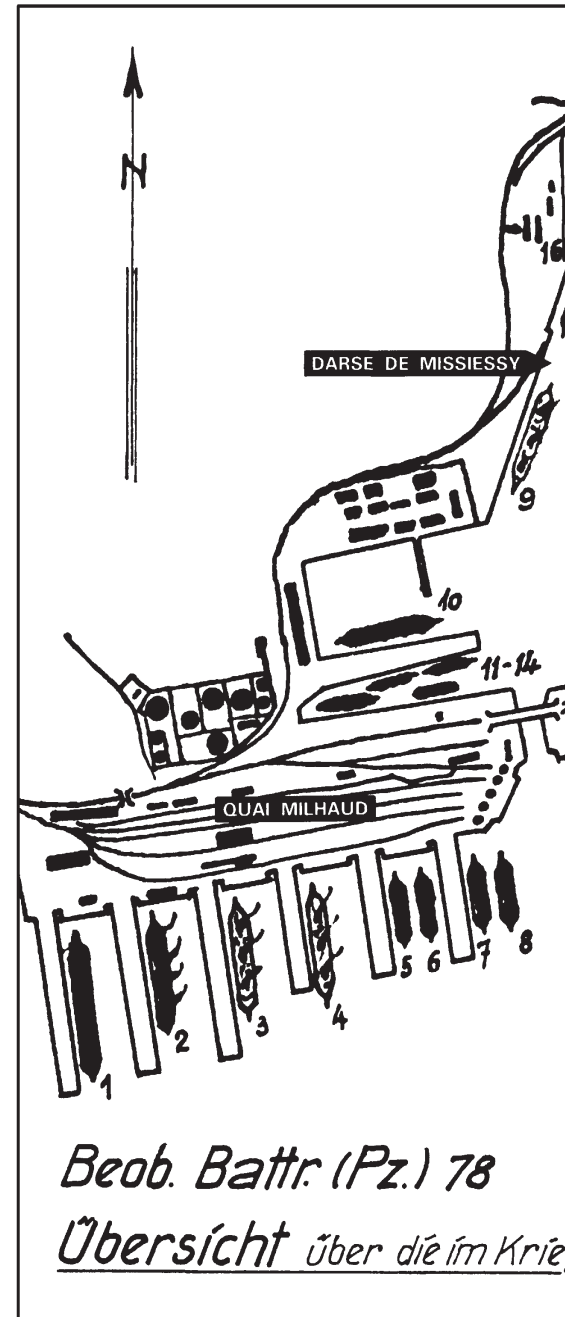
the dock, thus blocking the gate and stopping the Germans from emptying it. However, the launch bearing the final scuttling order had mistakenly delivered it to the nearby *Galissonnière*, which passed it on although time was lost in the process. The sea-cocks were quickly opened, but the demolition charges had not yet been fuzed when the Germans arrived alongside. Unlike some of their contemporaries, these commandos were not worried about the possibility of going up with the ship, and they rushed on board and found and cut the fuzes. However, it was still too late, for the crew had set about the ship with gusto; everything had been broken and the ship was now sinking, half in and half out of the dock, effectively immobilising the gate.

A Fleet supply ship, the A 608 *Var*, replaces the sunken cruiser in our comparison. In the distance is the Saint-Mandrier Peninsula.



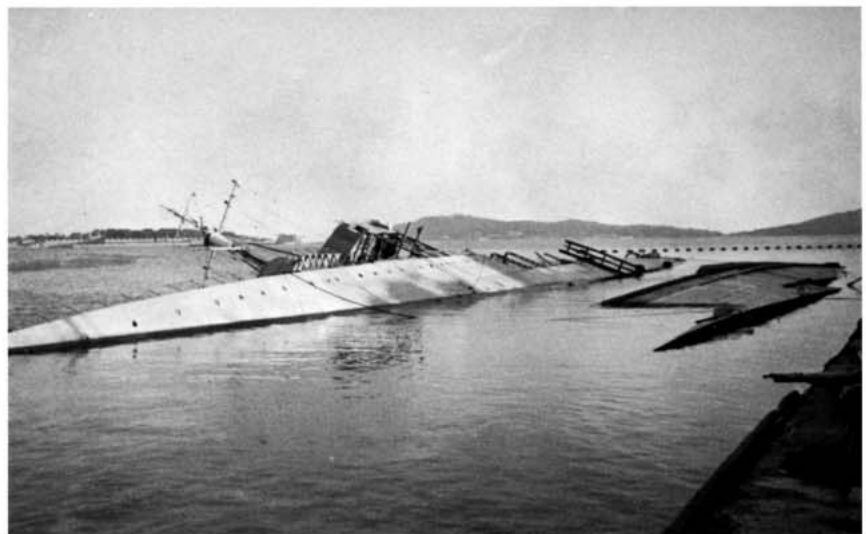


Above: Having reached the Milhaud dockside, a PzKpfw III of Panzer-Regiment 25 trains its 50mm gun to cover the entrance to Missiessy anchorage. Two destroyers, the *Vauban* and *Aigle* (7 and 8 on the plan) have been capsized next to Jetty No. 1. Behind lie the *Tigre* and *Panthère*, still afloat. (ECPA) Below: The same view looking west shows a minesweeper *La Persée* (M 649) and an experimental vessel, the *Ille d'Oléron* (A 610).

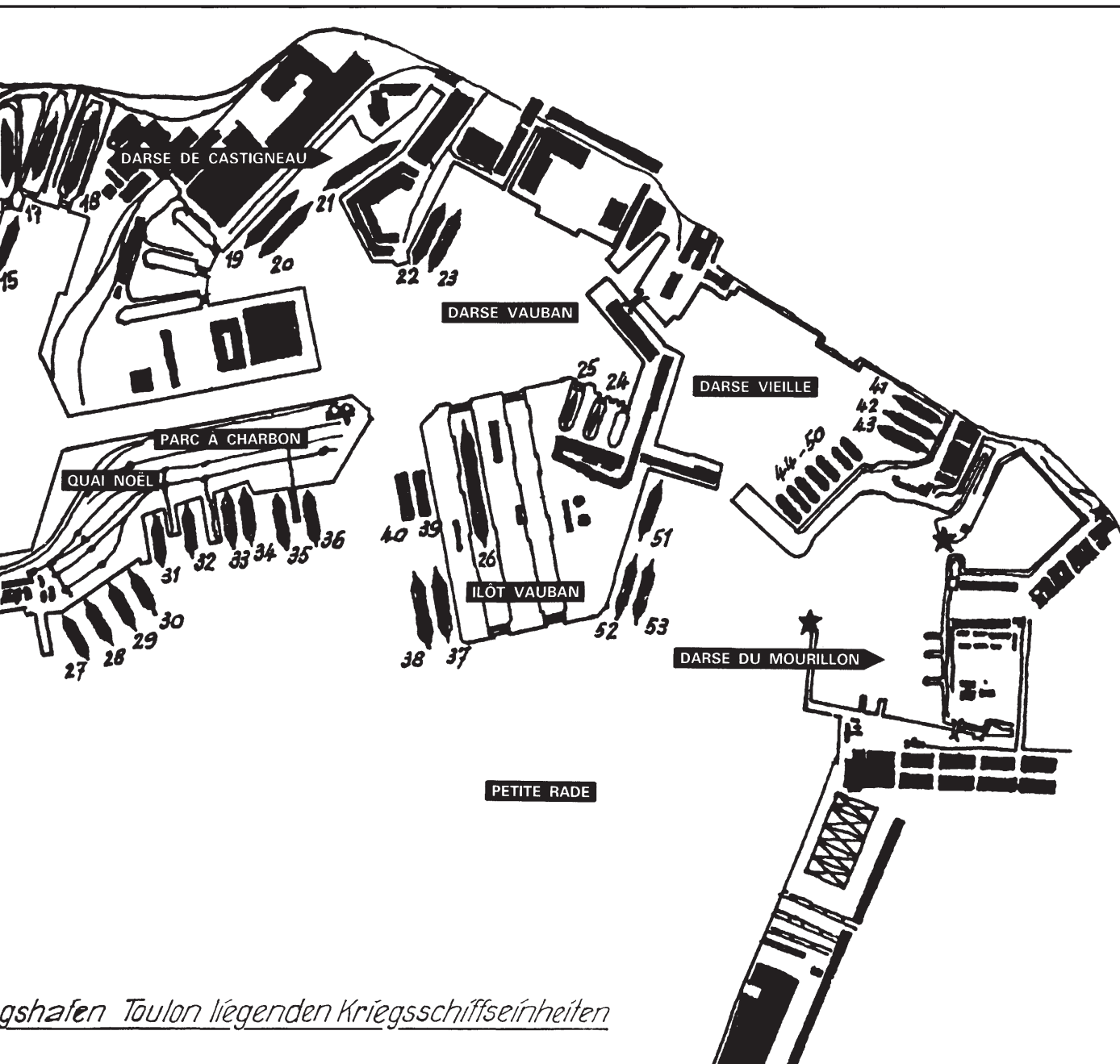


GRUPE DES CONTRE-TORPILLEURS

At the eastern end of the Milhaud Quay lay five disabled destroyers of the group which were in Armistice Custody. To scuttle them swiftly was not an easy task for their captains had only been able to retain skeleton crews. There was also some confusion when the scuttling order was received from the *Marseillaise* at about 5.40 a.m. and, although the scuttling measures were immediately complied with on three of the destroyers, the captains of the *Tigre* and *Panthère* were convinced that all the noise and confusion was simply the result of an Allied air raid and they decided to wait and see. When the Germans arrived, although the *Tigre* and *Panthère* were captured intact, it was too late for them to rescue the *Lynx*, *Vauban* and *Aigle*. A sixth destroyer, the *Lion*, was in dry dock at Missiessy, but there was not enough time to flood the dock and sink the ship. Nevertheless, demolition charges were blown which destroyed the ship's armament though her keel was undamaged. Two other destroyers, the *Mogador* and the *Valmy*, were successfully sunk at La Seyne.



Close up of the *Aigle* and *Vauban* photographed from the jetty. (ECPA)



gshafen Toulon liegenden Kriegsschiffseinheiten



Our comparison looking across the empty mooring towards Saint-Mandrier.

This plan was drawn up on December 4 by artillery observers of Panzer Artillerie-Regiment 78 (7. Panzer-Division) to show the positions of the scuttled vessels. However, there are a number of inaccuracies and omissions like the *Panthère* (between 5 and 6), and the five submarines next to the *Gladiateur* (10) in the Darse des Sous-Marins. Also *Vautour* and *Foch* (19 and 20) should be shown at 90 degrees to the quay and a dozen smaller vessels are missing from the adjoining basin. The following have been identified correctly: (1) *Strasbourg*. (2) *Colbert*. (3) *Algérie*. (4) *Marseillaise* (5) *Lynx*. (6) *Tigre*. (7) *Vauban*. (8) *Aigle*. (9) *Dupleix*. (10) *Gladiateur*. (16) *La Galissonnière*. (17) *Lion*. (18) *Jean de Vienne*. (20) *Foch*. (24) *Aurore*. (25) *Achéron*. (26) *Dunkerque*. (27) *Le Bordelais*. (28) *Le Siroco*. (29) *La Trombe*. (30) *Le Foudroyant* (31) *L'Adroit*. (32) *Volta*. (33) *Indomptable*. (34) *Cassard*. (35) *Tartu*. (36) *Guépard*. (37) *Kersaint*. (38) *Vauquelin* (39) *Henri Desprez*. (40) *Dauphiné*. (51) *Condorcet*. (52) *Commandant Teste*. (53) *Provence*. (Other numbers not listed are not named.)



Two large destroyers of the 5ème Division de Contre-Torpilleurs, the *Kersaint* (Capitaine de Frégate Adolphe Conge) and the *Vauquelin* (Capitaine de Frégate Yves le Floch), were

scuttled in front of the Quai Ouest. Both ships were of 3,140 tons and of the same class, launched in 1931. View taken looking west with the Castigneau entrance on the right. (ECPA)

3ème ESCADRE

Over to the east, on the Quai Noël, were six of the thirteen destroyers of the 3ème Escadre Légère. This quay was on the Parc à Charbon, which was virtually an island, and it took some time for the Germans to find a way onto the quay. This delay could have given the squadron commander, Contre-Amiral Jean-Louis Négadelle, plenty of time to save his ships and get them away to Africa, had he been so inclined. Moored as they were, his ships were among the few for which an escape was a feasible challenge, but Négadelle was not a man to disobey an order, and at around 5.00 a.m. he ordered that the 'final dispositions' were to be implemented. The men disembarked, the cocks were opened and the charges primed. The ships began to settle, the charges exploded, and by the time the Germans reached them the six destroyers were on the bottom.

Négadelle, who had his flag in the *Volta*, did not leave his sunken ship before 7.00 a.m.

The seven other destroyers of the 3ème Escadre Légère were all successfully sunk at their moorings — the *Kersaint* and *Vauquelin* on the Quai Ouest, the *Mameluck*, *Casque* and *Verdun* in the Vauban Basin, the *Gerfaut* in the Missiessy Basin and the *Vautour* in the Castigneau Basin.

GROUPE DES TORPILLEURS

On the Parc à Charbon, just to the west of Quai Noël, five disarmed destroyers were moored in Armistice Custody. As with the other ships in that category, they came under the command of Capitaine de Vaisseau Georges Amiel. He was on board the battleship *Dunkerque*, somewhat to the east in a dry dock but, because of communication problems (the Germans having cut the telephone lines) the destroyers failed to receive

their orders in time. Also, because of their reduced crews, the operation was a difficult one and although *Le Foudroyant*, *Le Hardi* and *Le Siroco* were successfully scuttled, commandos reached *La Trombe* and *Le Bison* in time to close the cocks and cut the fuzes.

With these vessels on the Parc à Charbon were two armed destroyers, *Le Bordelais* and *La Palme*, which were from the 1ère Division de Torpilleurs. Both were successfully scuttled, capsizing as they went down.

DIVISION DES ECOLES

The commander of the school flotilla, Contre-Amiral Marcel Jarry, had his flag in the old battleship *Provence* moored near the Îlot Vauban at a place called Angle Robert. Between the *Provence* and the quay were the *Hamelin*, a supply ship, and a seaplane tender, the *Commandant Teste*, while on the



Left: Two civilian oilers, the *Dauphiné* and the *Henri Desprez*, berthed further along the quay, survived intact. The entrance to Castigneau harbour can be seen just to the right of the



lighthouse. (ECPA) Right: A nice comparison with a modern fleet tanker, the *Somme* (A 631) tied up at the same spot. The wartime lighthouse is still in service.



other side was the old battleship *Condorcet*. Apart from the *Hamelin*, all these ships belonged to the school flotilla.

The scuttling order was received from Contre-Amiral Dornon at about 5.35 a.m., and while the ships were being prepared for destruction, the crews disembarked. In this case, it was unsafe to use demolition charges as the ships were moored too close to each other, and the sinkings only succeeded in the nick of time. Contre-Amiral Jarry had just ordered the sea-cocks opened when, at about 6.30 a.m., the first Germans boarded the *Provence* using the rear gangway. Stalling for time, the captain, Capitaine de Vaisseau Jacques Le Merdy, engaged the young Ger-

The 6ème Division de Contre-Torpilleurs sank one of its destroyers, the *Indomptable* of Capitaine de Frégate Henri Gervais, alongside the *Cassard* of the 7ème Division de Contre-Torpilleurs (Capitaine de Frégate René de Boigne). Both went down in front of the Quai Noël. (ECPA)

man lieutenant in charge in conversation. Unaware that the ship was sinking under him, the lieutenant asked to see the admiral. He was led to Jarry's office and then walked with him to the rear deck to watch the evacuation of the crew. They all stood looking at the men walking down to the quay when the *Provence* slowly started to list. The Germans then realised how they had been tricked and immediately ordered the scuttling stopped. However, when told that it

was too late, Jarry and Le Merdy were arrested and roughly treated.

A similar story applied to the *Commandant Teste*, which was scuttled while Germans were already on board. The *Hamelin* was also sunk but the valueless old *Condorcet* remained afloat. Two sloops, the *Dédaigneuse* and *Yser*, were scuttled in the Vieille Darse, but the old battleship *Océan*, now used as a pontoon on the other side of the bay at Saint-Mandrier, was not touched.



Two ships belonging to the school flotilla, the seaplane tender *Commandant Teste* (Capitaine de Vaisseau René de Besse) and the old battleship *Provence* (Capitaine de Vaisseau Jacques le

Merdy) were moored at a place called Angle Robert (Robert Corner), in front of the entrance of the Vieille Darse. Both went down with the Germans actually on board the vessels. (ECPA)



GRUPE DES GRANDS BATIMENTS

Three major ships, the battleship *Dunkerque* and two cruisers, the *Foch* and *La Galissonnière*, also lay disarmed in Armistice Custody. The *Dunkerque* was in one of the dry docks at Ilôt Vauban, where the damage suffered at Mers el-Kebir was being repaired. Her captain, Capitaine de Vaisseau Amiel, was also responsible for all the ships in custody. He had received the scuttling order by telephone at 5.45 a.m. whereupon he ordered the preparations to be made, although he held off giving the final signal until a formal written order arrived. He was still waiting when Capitaine de Vaisseau Marie-Louis Moreau rang from *La Galissonnière* and told him that he had just received his order by launch from the *Strasbourg*. It was about 6.00 a.m. This was the confirmation for which Capitaine Amiel was waiting, and the final order was then telephoned from the *Dunkerque* to the *Foch* moored in the Castigneau Basin and to the destroyer *Mogador* at La Seyne. However, because most of the telephone lines had been cut, numerous other ships, like the group of destroyers on the Parc à Charbon, could not be contacted in time.

While equipment was being put out of action on the *Dunkerque*, the dry dock in which she was standing was flooded, which resulted in her sinking for she still had large unrepaired holes in her keel. The Germans did not reach her until 7.00 a.m., by which time water was pouring into the dock although the demolition charges had not yet gone off. The Germans did nothing to stop the flooding or make any attempt to defuze the charges which destroyed the *Dunkerque*'s guns, machinery and bridge. This was another example where a ship could have been saved if the Germans had shown a little more enterprise.

La Galissonnière was in dry-dock at Missiessy, when Capitaine de Vaisseau Moreau received his scuttling orders by launch from the *Strasbourg*. He also ordered his ship be moved some ten metres so that

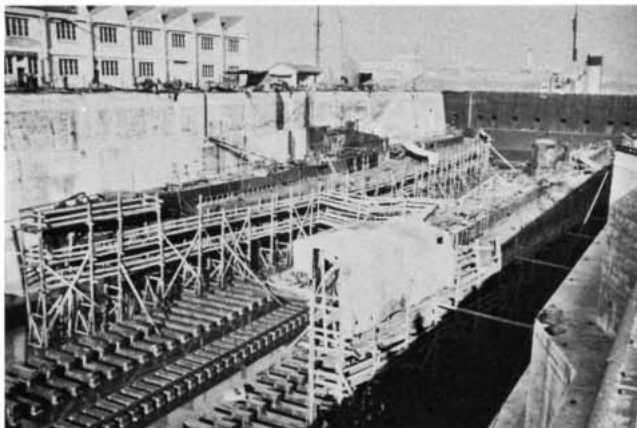
The expanse of Toulon harbour photographed from the fo'c's'le of the *Dunkerque* (26 on plan) with the two oilers on page 18 on the right. In the centre background Darse de Castigneau with the sunken *Foch*. *Dunkerque*, the sister ship of the *Strasbourg*, was still in dry-dock undergoing repairs following damage sustained at Mers el-Kebir in 1940 and was being held disarmed in Armistice Custody. Although the dock was flooded, this picture has been taken after it has been pumped dry again. (ECPA)

she would sink in the entrance to prevent the Germans from closing the gate. This move was carried out successfully, and all equipment was smashed, but there was not sufficient time to set the demolition charges before the Germans appeared. The crew were disembarked and *La Galissonnière* settled on the bottom.

On the *Foch* in the Castigneau Basin, Capitaine de Vaisseau Albert Hamel received an intimation that orders had been issued for scuttling when the destroyer *Vautour* from the 3ème Escadre Légère, moored nearby, signalled that they had

received the order by radio. When the *Vautour* started to sink at about 5.30 a.m., Hamel ordered the wheels to be set in motion but then waited for confirmation to be received from his own commander. This came at 6.12 a.m. via a telephone call from Capitaine Amiel on the *Dunkerque*. Destruction of equipment began, the cocks were opened, and the charges already in position in the guns and primed. By the time a team from the Kriegsmarine (not from the 7. Panzer-Division) arrived on board at about 8.15 a.m., the *Foch* was already on the bottom and all the armament had been destroyed.





THE SUBMARINES AT MOURILLON

There were twenty submarines at Toulon: six were active 'de relève', while fourteen were disarmed. Nine submarines — including the six armed boats — were moored at Le Mourillon, while six were in the docks at Ilôt Vauban and five in the Missiessy basin.

The disarmed submarines had little alternative but to scuttle, which most of them succeeded in doing. Although Germans arriving from the Castigneau Gate passed near the Missiessy basin at around 5.40 a.m., they failed to spot the submarines and they advanced past them towards the Milhaud Quay. The scuttling was therefore immediately set in motion and in less than fifteen minutes the five submarines at Missiessy lay on the bottom.

Things were not so simple for the six submarines docked at Ilôt Vauban and only two of them, the *Aurore* and *Achéron*, which were floating in dry docks that had not been evacuated could be sunk. Nearby, in one of the large Grands Bassins that were dry, were the *Espoir* and *Vengeur*. As there was no time to flood the large dock, everything that was breakable was smashed while explosives were placed for more permanent demolition. The *Galathée* and *Eurydice* were moored in another of the Grands Bassins, but these two could not be sunk in time. The launch bringing the explosives was waylaid by the Germans at about 6.30 a.m. and of these four submarines, only the *Espoir* and *Vengeur* were slightly damaged.

As far as the six armed submarines were concerned, these boats were all in a position to put to sea and most of their captains were eager to escape. Knowing that the Germans were about to occupy the arsenal and attempt to capture the Fleet, several of them had already drawn up a plan of action, among them the captain of the *Marsouin* who had just avoided the Allies off North Africa. His argument was that it would be far more effective to scuttle their boats in deep water, and they planned to sail their submarines and sink them off Toulon.



Left: Two submarines, the *Espoir* and *Vengeur*, were being refitted in one of the Grands Bassins. As the dock was dry, the boats could not be sunk and the launch bringing the explosives was intercepted by the Germans. Nevertheless, the crew smashed as much equipment as they could and both vessels had subsequently to be scrapped — the *Espoir* at Toulon and the *Vengeur* in Italy, to where she had been towed. (ECPA) **Right:** The A 733 in the same dock is the *Commandant Rivière*.

Noise of battle was heard at about 5.00 a.m. as Kampfgruppe D reached the Porte Bazeilles, but the guards on duty refused to open the gate and returned the fire. Other French forces were attempting to get artillery into action at the end of Le Mourillon Peninsula.

At the same time, the alarm was sounded on the submarines. Half-dressed men rushed on board from their nearby barracks, and five submarines, the *Casabianca*, *Glorieux*, *Marsouin*, *Iris* and *Vénus* all cut their lines and got under way for the Grande Rade. Lieutenant de Vaisseau Sassy, the commander of the sixth armed submarine, the *Diamant*, was all prepared with his crew on board but, at the last moment, decided to follow orders. At 5.30 a.m. the crew were told to disembark and the sea-cocks opened and, by the time the Germans arrived, it was too late to prevent the *Diamant* from sinking. The other three disarmed submarines at Le Mourillon, the *Redoutable*, *Pascal* and *Henri Poincaré*, were also sent to the bottom.

Of the five submarines that had made a bid for the open sea, the *Vénus*, the first to leave, became stuck in the anti-submarine netting protecting the basin entrance. The *Casabianca* managed to get past whereupon the *Vénus* disengaged herself. The *Marsouin*, *Iris* and *Glorieux* followed. They travelled southwards along the jetty but, while the *Casabianca* was waiting for the large anti-submarine barrage that ran from the jetty across to the Saint-Mandrier Peninsula to be opened, the Luftwaffe attacked. Machine guns opened up from the jetty and anti-aircraft guns on the *Commandant Teste* also

fired at the bombers from her mooring at Angle Robert. As the bombs began to fall, the submarines proceeded full speed ahead through the opening in the barrage, but they had to submerge to get past the last surface net.

Meantime Kampfgruppe A had had time to get some artillery on Saint-Mandrier and at 8.10 a.m. it reported that two submarines trying to escape had been attacked. Seven rounds had been fired by the 7. Batterie of Flak-Rgt. 69 and five by the 2. Batterie of Art.Rgt. 2 and many more followed. However, in spite of the artillery, and the bombs and mines aimed at them, four of the submarines managed to make good their escape. Only the captain of the *Vénus*, Lieutenant de Vaisseau Crescent, had second thoughts and decided to follow orders and he sank his boat in deep water in the Rade des Vignettes off Fort Lamalgue.

The captain of the *Iris* was also a loyalist officer who would have followed orders, but he was ill and the officer in charge was his number two, Lieutenant de Vaisseau Louis Dégé. Like most of the crew, Dégé was against the idea of scuttling but it was also not easy to accept the alternative: to join forces with the Allies. They therefore decided to escape to Spain, reaching Barcelona where they were interned.

Only three vessels joined the Allies. Capitaine de Corvette Jean l'Herminier sailed *Casabianca* to Algiers; Capitaine de Corvette Robert Meynier brought *Glorieux* to Oran after calling at Valencia in Spain, and Lieutenant de Vaisseau Emile Mine arrived in Algiers with *Marsouin*.

Another submarine, the *Aurore* was being refitted in a smaller dry dock on Darse Vauban. It, too, was wrecked by its crew.





A FAILURE

At 6.45 a.m., the first of many such reports arrived from Kampfgruppe E, announcing that the French were sinking their ships. This was confirmed at 7.10 a.m. when it was known that 'all the French ships had been scuttled', although the situation of the flagship *Strasbourg* was reported as 'yet unclear'.

When the Germans realised that the French were not attempting to escape, at about 7.30 a.m. SS-Panzerkorps asked the Luftwaffe to stop mining the harbour. At 8.35 a.m. it was confirmed that the *Strasbourg* was sinking and that the *Foch* was listing badly. This bad news was tempered by the report of the capture of both Fort Saint-

The funereal overtones at Toulon became apparent to all as soon as it became light on the morning of November 27. The smoke clouds marked both the death throes of the French Fleet and the outright defeat of the German assault on the port.

Antoine and Fort Sainte-Marguerite, and at 9.00 a.m. the capture of Fort Napoléon and Fort de Six-Fours. Ten minutes later, a report from the 7. Panzer-Division made clear that the operation had been a total failure and, save for three destroyers, all the French ships had been sunk. News of the capture of the fortress on Mont-Faron at 9.45 a.m. completed the picture.

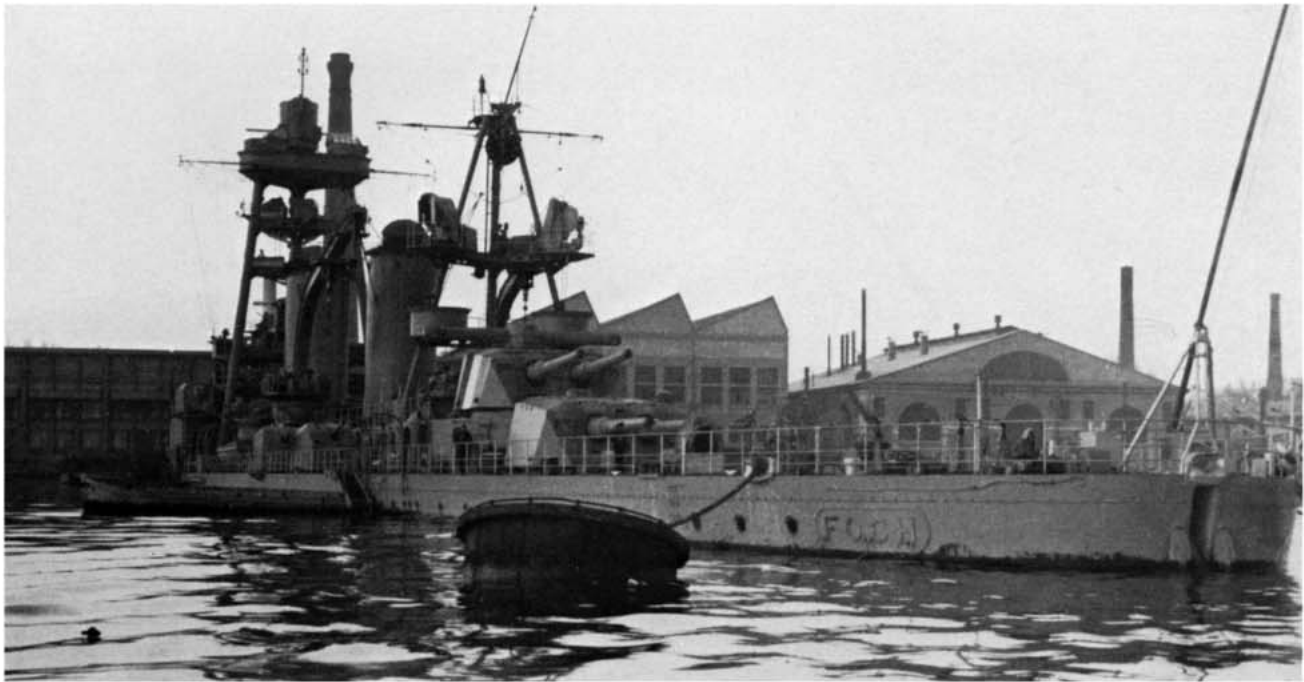
All over the harbour at Toulon, dozens of smaller ships were also sunk by their crews. In the Vieille Darse there were the three sloops of the 3ème Escadrille d'Avisos with

two other sloops from the school flotilla and the destroyer *La Baliste* from the 13ème Division de Torpilleurs. Most of the patrol boats from the 1ère Flotille de Patrouille were scuttled in the Vauban Basin, together with three destroyers from the 3ème Escadre Légère and several supply ships. In the Castigneau Basin, beside the *Foch* and *Vautour*, were several patrol boats and the destroyer *La Poursuivante* from the 13ème Division de Torpilleurs which were also sunk as were the three supply ships in the Misseys basin.



The Mediterranean photographed today at its best where, in the words of the song, 'the sky is blue and the sea is green'.

The two ships in our comparison are both missile destroyers: the *Duquesne* (D 603), left, and the *Suffren* (D 602).



Although virtually his entire fleet was resting on the bottom, Amiral de Laborde refused to leave his ship and instead demanded to know of every German officer sent to persuade him to leave, why Germany had reneged on her promises. Even when an order arrived from Pétain via Ob. West at 1.10 p.m., de Laborde still refused to leave *Strasbourg*. Finally, at 8.45 p.m. that evening, he agreed to go ashore, taking with him the picture of Maréchal Pétain that hung in his cabin. At Ollioules he was greeted by Generalleutnant Hans von Funck, the commander of 7. Panzer-Division. 'It will be written in history, by you and your chiefs, that your Führer has double standards', said de Laborde as he was driven away to Aix-en-Provence by SS-Sturmabführer Hans Woith of the corps' staff.

In the harbour, fires and explosions, particularly those on the *Dupleix*, raged for days, the sky darkened by a huge pall of black smoke. In the days that followed, German and Italian troops stripped the warehouses and barracks of anything of value. The disaster for France appeared complete when a few days later French civilian workers in the arsenal looted what was left.

The *Foch* had settled fairly and squarely on the bottom and, although the depth at his point of the naval port was 10 metres (33 feet), she still gave the impression of being afloat.

Bearing in mind the original purpose of the operation, 'Lila' was a total failure, and far from achieving the capture of the French Fleet, the French had scuttled about 80 ships. On November 28, the 7. Panzer-Division reported on what had not been sunk. There were two destroyers, the *Panthère* and *Tigre*; the *Lion* was in dock but with her armament destroyed; two submarines remained afloat (*Galathée* and *Eurydice*) plus two others (*Espoir* and *Vengeur*), four oilers, one submarine tender and one passenger ship.

The French Fleet had ceased to exist. Most of the coastal batteries had also been sabotaged, although the arsenal itself, though cluttered with wreckage, was mainly intact. The Germans agreed to free the 28,000 French sailors they had captured, but in exchange demanded that the Vichy government made sure that French workers in the arsenal co-operated with the Axis, their first

task being to raise as many as possible of the sunken ships to free the basins and provide scrap.

In December, Konteradmiral Werner Scheer was made commander of the arsenal, and on the 3rd the Germans informed Vichy that all the French ships at Toulon had been seized. The booty was then shared with the Italians and, as agreed at the outset, the Germans took all the small vessels that had not been sunk. These vessels were then enlisted in two naval security flotillas, the 6. Sicherungs-Division at Marseille and the 7. Sicherungs-Division at Trapani. Of the 75 major vessels that had been scuttled, 212,500 GRT were given to the Italians and 24,500 GRT retained by the Germans.

On January 19, 1943, the Italians raised their flag on the *Tigre*, *Panthère*, *Lion* and *La Trombe*, in spite of protests from the French Admiralty pointing out that paragraph 8 of the Armistice forbade them to do so.

The heavy cruiser (disarmed under the 1940 armistice) had been scuttled 'end-on' to the quay. Our comparison shows the ASM destroyer *Georges Leygues* (D 640).





The *Chamois* was a 750-ton sloop which had a chequered wartime history. She had been built at Lorient and launched in April 1938 but then scuttled in the Vieille Darse at Toulon (above) in November 1942. The harbour at this point was fairly shallow (4.5 metres, about 15 feet) and she was refloated by the Italians who renamed her the *FR-53*. When Italy surrendered in September 1943, the Germans took her over, giving her the number *SG 21*. Two months later, on November 23, she was sunk by a bomb but refloated again, being finally sent to the bottom by US Navy destroyers on August 15, 1944. (MM)

The Italians then refloated as many ships as possible, towing the best of them to Italy. The destroyers *Le Siroco*, *La Baliste*, *Valmy*, *Lansquenét* and *Le Hardi* and the submarine *Henri Poincaré* were taken and work began to put them back in service under Italian colours. However, few of them actually went to sea again, either with the Italians or with



Golo, a fleet transport, was scuttled just in front of the entrance of the Darse Vauban which contained the submarines *Espoir*



and *Vengeur*. In these views of 1942 and 1990, we are looking north-east towards Toulon and Mont-Faron. (MM)



the Germans who took back the ships after the Italian armistice of September 1943. They then returned the destroyers *Tigre* and *La Trombe* to the French Navy.

Of those ships left at Toulon, none were repaired for the Italians were mainly intent on salvaging the wrecks to send any useful equipment and scrap copper and bronze to Italy. They dismembered all the major vessels, but their scrapping work on the two cruisers, the *Jean de Vienne* and *La Galissonnière* (which had been designated *FR.11* and *FR.12*), was far from complete when they were seized, still in reasonable shape, by the Germans in September 1943.

After the Italian armistice, the new Vichy Secretary of State for the Navy, Amiral Henri Bléhaut, asked the Germans to return what remained of the ships at Toulon to France. The Germans agreed, save for those ships they had seized for themselves, and French crews were placed on those ships left at Toulon by the Italians. From April 1944 French crews tried to save what could be saved, which included the *Commandant Teste*, the cruisers *La Galissonnière* and *Jean de Vienne*, the destroyers *Le Foudroyant*, *Mameluck*, *L'Adroït* and *Casque*, and maybe the *Dunkerque*, still trapped in the dry dock in which she had been scuttled.

Toulon was now the base of the 29. U-Boat Flotille and was under frequent attack from the Allied air forces. Consequently, the officer in charge of the ships, Capitaine de Vaisseau Rosset, tried to have the ships removed to a place of safety, and a basin was dug in Lazaret Bay for the *Strasbourg*, *Commandant Teste* and *La Galissonnière*. However, Allied aircraft continued their attacks, and soon most of the

Victory in defeat! Their war at sea over, sailors leave the *Gladiateur* following the bitter-sweet triumph of the French Navy over the German Army at Toulon. (ECPA)



refloated ships were sunk again. Those which had not been sunk by Allied bombs were scuttled by the Germans just before they surrendered the harbour in the summer of 1944. Of the ships that were at Toulon in November 1942 — about 135 in all — only two destroyers, the *Trombe* and *Tigre* (plus of course the four submarines that had escaped) had, by 1945, been recovered by the French Navy.

THE FRENCH NAVY LIVES ON

The Germans had reacted quickly in North Africa after the Allied landings in 1942 and had promptly invaded Tunisia. Since November 11 that year, the French commander in Tunisia, Général Georges Barré, had received orders from Algiers to resist any attack from Axis naval or landing forces, but the authority of the leaders in Algiers was soon undermined by broadcasts from Vichy



'Careful' may have been her name but now the auxiliary vessel *La Prudente* lay beneath the waters of Darse Vauban. (MM)







Having walked through the harbour area, the crew has assembled on the Place de l'Horloge, just near the main dock gate. All told, the French lost around a dozen men during the scuttling operations and 26 sailors were wounded. The Germans rounded up 27,888 seamen who were made prisoners-of-war but they were all soon released and sent back home. (MM)

which resulted in confusion. The French had sunk vessels in the harbour approaches at Bizerte and Tunis to deny their full use to the Axis, but these measures did not hold them up for long as Italian port engineers worked hard, clearing Bizerte on November 12, and Tunis by the 15th. The Axis hold in Tunisia became stronger every day and, after two successes against the Allies at Medjez-el-Bab and Djedeida at the end of November, the Germans abandoned any pretence of supporting French interests against the Allies, and on November 30 Hitler ordered General Kesselring to disarm the French forces then trapped in Tunisia.

On December 8, Amiral Louis Derrien, the commander of the French Navy at Bizerte, and about 10,000 men were captured and several ships in the harbours seized. Three light destroyers, *La Bombarde*, *La Pomone* and *L'Iphigénie*, were then allocated to the Italian Navy and towed to Italy as the *FR-41*, *FR-42* and *FR-43*. They were later transferred to the Germans in September 1943, becoming *TA-9*, *TA-10* and *TA-11*. Four first-class submarines, the *Requin*, *Dauphin*, *Phoque* and *Espadon*, were also captured at Bizerte and taken to Italy where they became the *FR-113*, *FR-115*, *FR-111* and *FR-114*. However, when seized by the Germans in 1943 they were broken up. Two second-class submarines, three minelaying submarines, two second-class sloops and several other smaller vessels were also captured at Bizerte.

As far as is known, the Germans suffered only a single casualty and many of the sailors (*centre*) brought in with Kommando Gumprich to take over the ships were not needed. This column is crossing the Place Junen de la Gravière. (MM)



Right: The German coup de main having failed, redundant Sdkfz 250 armoured cars of Kampfgruppe B and their crews enjoy a brief respite in the pleasant surroundings of the Place de la Liberté. (MM) **Centre:** A little older ... and perhaps wiser ... the same tree overlooks Liberty Square fifty years on.

Most of the ships which had been captured in British harbours in July 1940 had soon been turned over to the FNFL, the Free French Naval Forces, which continued the fight under Général de Gaulle against Germany. At first the force was small, having only about 20 ships and 3,250 men at the end of 1940, but it increased quickly in strength. In 1942 the French colonies were still divided between following either Giraud or de Gaulle, but after the success of Operation 'Torch', the situation polarised rapidly and the disarmed French ships came in on the Allied side. The Governor-General of West Africa soon made a decision to join the Algerian government and the ships based at Dakar, among them the battleship *Richelieu* and the destroyers *Le Terrible* and *Le Fantasque* sailed to the United States at the beginning of 1943 for repair and refit. In May 1943, Amiral Godfroy agreed to turn Force X at Alexandria over to the Algerian government, being followed one month later by the Caribbean authorities. By June 1943 the FNFL strength had reached 65 ships and 7,600 men; one month later Général Giraud and Général de Gaulle joined forces to form the French Committee for National Liberation and, from then on, the French began to pull together against the Axis, with FNFL and Vichy seamen fighting together at last for final victory.

Although Operation 'Lila' had been a failure, German forces had at least completed the objective of Operation 'Anton' and now the whole of France was under their control. The invasion of southern France would not come for another two years giving time to improve the defences. Meanwhile, at Toulon, the former HQ of Vice-Amiral Marquis had new masters as German troops took over the Préfecture Maritime. (MM)





Anti-aircraft batteries pointing skyward amidst ruins and the debris of war; an abandoned tank rusting under a canopy of dense green foliage, and a signpost with its inscription in Kanji; these are the visible reminders of the thirty years of Japanese occupancy of Palau.

In the early part of 1992, I was fortunate enough to visit the islands of Palau, the westernmost of the Caroline Islands in the south-west Pacific. A brief sojourn in the capital, Koror, preceded my final destination, Peleliu. During this short stay I had the opportunity to explore Koror, Babelthup and surrounding areas. Reminders of the Japanese occupation are plentiful and, standing in the main street of Koror, it is not difficult to imagine the sights and sounds of Japanese military activity fifty years ago.

The Palau Islands form part of Micronesia and lie 750 km (almost 500 miles) east of the Philippines. Comprising a total of 243 islands

PALAU 50 YEARS ON

By David M. Green

stretching in a chain running approximately 100 km from north to south, there are eight main islands, the largest being Babelthup.

Spanish missionaries discovered Palau in the 18th century when Christianity and a written alphabet were introduced. However, little was done in the colonisation or development of the islands and, following defeat in the Spanish-American War of 1899, Spain decided to withdraw from the Pacific region. Her former dominions were sold to Germany with Guam and the Philippines being relinquished to the United States. The Germans initiated a period of economic growth in Palau. Natural resources were exploited, primarily in Anguar, where large phosphate

deposits had been discovered. Despite restrictions, Japanese companies also established a commercial foothold in Palau, a tenure which grew to market dominance.

Honouring the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan declared war on Germany on August 14, 1914. Wasting no time, the Japanese formed special naval task forces to seize and occupy the former German colonies, and the Second South Seas Squadron, under the command of Rear Admiral Tatsuo Matsumara, led by the battleship *Tatsuma*, landed in Koror on October 7.



The largest of the Palau Islands is Babelthup, seen by the Japanese as the most likely target for an American invasion. More than two-thirds of the Japanese garrison in the Palaus was stationed on the island which, in the event, was bypassed



in favour of a landing on Peleliu and Anguar. Nevertheless, the vestiges of the defences remain. These anti-aircraft cannon (twin 25mm calibre Model 96s) and a Type 2 (Ka-Mi) amphibious tank lie at the southern end of the island at Airai.



The Spanish were the first to establish a colony in the Pacific when they landed in the Philippines in the 16th century. The adjacent Palau Islands were claimed by Spain but were sold to Germany at the beginning of the 1900s. The islands were seized by the Japanese in 1914, and in 1919 her 'temporary wartime occupancy' was confirmed by the award of a mandate to Japan

to govern the islands on behalf of the League of Nations. After the Japanese defeat in 1945, administration of what was then termed the 'Trust Territory of the Pacific', which included the Marianas, Marshalls and the Carolines (of which the Palaus are part), was awarded to the United States by the United Nations in 1947.

Allied fears stemming from this opportunistic Pacific take over were countered by Japanese claims of the 'temporary wartime occupancy' being a matter of necessity. Despite these assurances, Japan quickly banned all foreign (including Allied) shipping in the waters of its newly-acquired territories. Assistance to the Allies in fighting the war was halted and suspicions grew over the true intentions of the Japanese presence in the Pacific south-east.

Oblivious to the war, Japan began to consolidate its position in the Pacific and the First and Second South Seas Squadrons were incorporated into the Provisional South Seas Defence Force, a new body formed to assist in naval administration of the islands. Naval bases were built at Truk, Ponape, Jaliut, Saipan and Palau.

In 1919, Allied representatives met at Versailles to discuss the post-war situation and establish a 'League of Nations', and it was during the conference that the US made known its opposition to the recent Japanese territorial gains. Following much debate, the



The home of the pre-war Japanese Civil Affairs Bureau on Kuror Island has been repaired and refurbished — now the Stars and Stripes hang ready to be broken at the masthead of the flagpole of the Trust's Judicial Building.



Relics of the Japanese mandate/occupation period still abound. Left: This road sign still stands on Koror, while the bomb-



scarred remains of an administration building on Airai are slowly being engulfed by nature right.



proposal was put forward and a mandate awarded to Japan entitling her to all former German colonies in the Pacific north of the equator. An annual report was to be submitted to the League and the establishment of military facilities, or the utilisation of the entrusted islands for military purposes, was forbidden. The American president, Woodrow Wilson, rejected this proposal outright and refusing to sign the Treaty, he pulled out the United States from the League of Nations.

In accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, a regional civilian government, the South Seas Government, was

David Green's visit to Palau was with the prime intention of covering the American assault on Peleliu. It was during his stop-over on Babelthup that he came across numerous rusting Japanese vehicles, forgotten and overgrown at the roadside.

installed in Koror in 1922. In accordance with the Japanese mandate, the government in Palau prepared the yearly report which recorded Japanese contributions to the 'moral well-being and social progress' of the Palauan people. In reality, the indigenous population were provided with a limited education, low wages and few opportunities to participate in commercial industry. A dependence upon Japan was fostered and a subservient attitude encouraged.

JAPANESE MILITARY BUILD-UP

Although the Treaty also prohibited the fortification of Japanese mandated territories, the right of access by the outside world was not specified. This enabled Japan to draw a veil of secrecy around the islands — a Pacific predecessor to the Iron Curtain. Lieutenant Colonel Earl H. Ellis, of the United States Marine Corps, attempted a solo investigation into possible Japanese military activities in Palau but the Marines'



What appears to be an Isuzu Type 94 (above right); Nissan 180, 1½-ton, with crane (below left); and an Isuzu TX40 (below right)





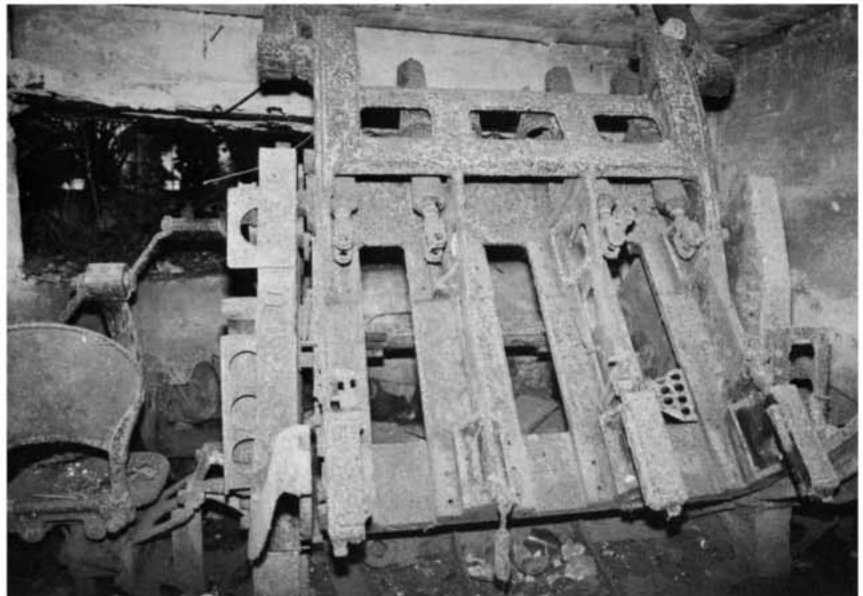
first 'spy' died in mysterious circumstances in Koror in 1923. (In 1921 Ellis had proposed a doctrine of amphibious warfare. To many at the time, a Pacific war against Japan seemed inevitable and it was Ellis in his *Advance Base Operations in Micronesia* who first described how the islands could be assaulted. His foresight was later to shape Marine Corps landings in the Pacific during the Second World War.)

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, together with rumoured militarisation of its Pacific colonies, prompted a review of the mandate in 1932. Similar questioning by the Mandate Commission followed over the next two years with Japan repeatedly denying any allegations of violating the terms of its mandate. Nevertheless, in 1935 Japan withdrew from the League of Nations and walked out of the London Naval Arms Limitation Conference.

In reality, planning for potential military sites on Palau had begun under the auspices of the Japanese Navy in 1933 and 1934. Palau was envisaged as part of a defensive island chain and surveys were conducted to establish sites for various bases and facilities. These surveys continued in greater detail in 1936, and in 1937 the Navy began a secretive militarisation programme in the south-east Pacific. Speculation over the disappearance of aviatrix Amelia Earhart in July 1937 centred around her possible intrusion over



A bent prop blade marks the entrance to the Palau Mission Academy on Babelthuap. Inside the grounds lay an assortment of rusting relics.



Examination of a pillbox on Malakal revealed that the original mounting still remains.



Gatepost and garden fence — Babelthuap style!



Above left: The Palau National Museum on the island of Koror was once a Japanese weather station but now houses various items of cultural interest. Above right: Several Model 96 mines.



Below left: A barrel from a Model 88 75mm anti-aircraft gun. Below right: A Model 98 20mm cannon plus one of considerably larger bore from an earlier age.



secret Japanese installations in the area and being forced down and captured. Now, in 1992, the mystery appears to have been solved with the discovery of her shoe on Nikumaroro Island, much further south in the Phoenix Islands.

Prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor, Palau had been extensively developed to become an important Japanese forward supply base. With a vast anchorage and facilities for land and sea-based aircraft, Palau became an important staging area for offensive operations following the declaration of war. Naval units from Palau participated during the invasion of the Philippines and the First Air Fleet, under Vice-Admiral Chuchi Nagumo, sailed from Palau to attack Darwin in February 1942 (see *After the Battle No. 67*). It was also to become a key centre in providing replacements and supplies to Rabaul and New Guinea. However, as the tide of war in the Pacific began to turn, the fall of the Marshall Islands initiated a frantic reinforcing of Palau. Primarily a staging post under naval jurisdiction with no permanent Army garrison, Palau's strategic value grew as Japan's frontier in the Pacific contracted.



Nearby is a shrine dedicated to the people of Palau killed during WWII.



Also on Koror Island, another 75mm Model 88 can be seen in the grounds of the Hotel Nikko, together with a Model 96



The hotel overlooks the magnificent Rock Islands of Palau.

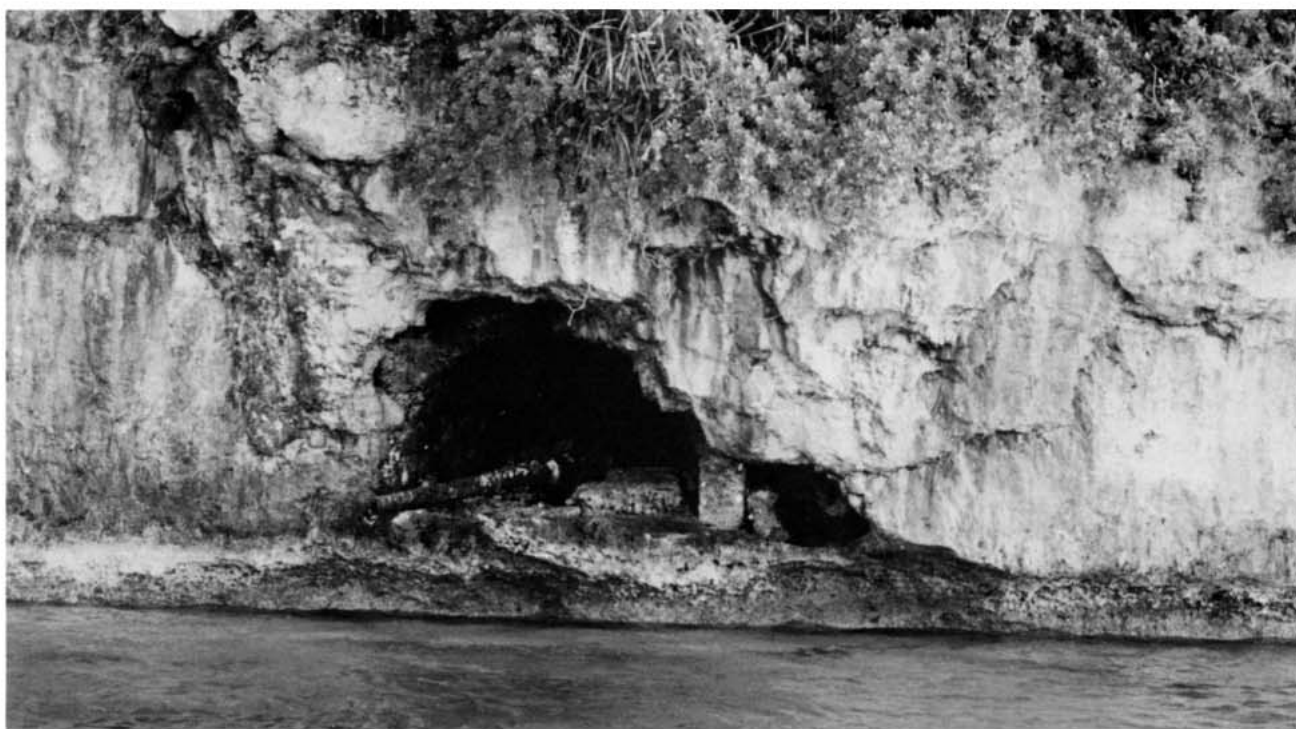
The famed 14th Division (under the command of Lieutenant-General Sadae Inoue) was en route to New Guinea when redirected to Palau where it arrived on April 24, 1944. With the 14th Division and other Army units, Inoue had approximately 35,000 troops at his disposal, of which nearly 25,000 were based on Babelthup, which was seen as the most likely site of an Allied invasion. The remainder of the troops were stationed on Peleliu and Anguar.

OPERATION 'STALEMATE'

In its preliminary draft, Operation 'Stalemate' proposed the capture of the Palau Islands with the US Army's 7th and 77th Infantry Divisions of the XXIV Corps landing on Babelthup. Several revisions of the plan were put in hand and the final attack as envisaged in 'Stalemate II', called for the landings to take place solely on the southern islands of Anguar and Peleliu. These invasions took place on September 15, 1944 resulting in the costly, protracted three-month campaign on Peleliu.



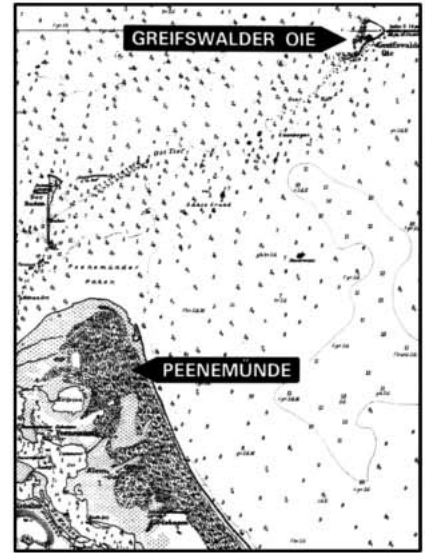
Another magnificent hotel, the Palau Pacific Resort on Arakabesang Island, is built on a former Japanese seaplane base, hence the tell-tale concrete slipway.



Koror and Babelthup were never invaded, the Japanese garrison on the northern Palau Islands being bypassed and left to sit out the remainder of the war. Subjected to frequent aerial attack and a chronic supply shortage, the attention of the Japanese forces turned to mere survival with 2,000 dying before the conclusion of hostilities.

My stay on Koror is in no way intended to be a definitive account of Palau during World War II. Indeed it barely touches the surface — for beneath the clear waters of Palau lie numerous sunken Japanese vessels in an underwater memorial rivalling that of Truk. Palau is rich in mementos of the Second World War and rewarding to those who journey there. It is a tribute to local tolerance that after years of subjugation, a visible legacy of that period remains.

Left and above: On Ngargol Island, gun positions were carved out of the solid limestone to cover Palau Harbour against the invasion which never came. We now await the second instalment of David's story, covering the assault on Peleliu itself, epitomising 'Fury in the Pacific' (also featured on After the Battle videocassette No. 6).



GREIFSWALDER OIE: SUB-BASE OF PEENEMÜNDE

By Dr Peter Schenk

On April 2, 1936, Wernher von Braun and Major Walter Dornberger, the two leading personalities of rocket development in the German Army, met with Oberst Dr. Ing. Karl Emil Becker of the Army Weapon Department and Oberstleutnant Wolfgang von Richthofen, head of the Development Branch of the Air Ministry in Berlin, to discuss a combined army-air force base for rocket development. Von Braun suggested the Peenemünde area and the same evening

the land for the base was secured. Work commenced in August and by May 1938 most of the development branches had moved from Kummersdorf to Peenemünde (see *After the Battle No. 74*).

The small island of Greifswalder Oie, eight kilometres north of Peenemünde, was earmarked for the preliminary tests and work on the necessary buildings started in the spring of 1937. The island was only a kilometre long and 300 metres wide. There

was a large lighthouse at the northern end and a farmhouse with an inn in the south. This, then, became the home of some 120 civil engineers and scientists. A small harbour was built for the little ferry steamer which brought in all the equipment and men. A platform was concreted on the east coast and a simple log-cabin built for use as a



Greifswalder Oie, a small island in the Baltic some five miles off the coast at Peenemünde, was an ideal remote testing site for

the early German rocket experiments. Here an A3 is prepared for launch. (DM)



We reported on the opening of the V2 test site at Peenemünde for the first time since the end of the war in issue No. 74, published in November 1991. Dr Peter Schenk, one of our long-time readers in Berlin, decided to go one better and visit the other test site at Greifswalder Oie (the name means 'an island near a harbour city'). Not knowing what was left, there was an element of excitement to his visit to explore what had been a prohibited area for fifty years. However, there were no surprises and considerable disappointment — this is the former V2 launch pad (above) from which even the concrete had been stripped. *Right:* Nevertheless, the lighthouse, the tallest in the Baltic, from which Walter Dornberger had observed the lift-off, still remained.

control bunker. In the woods to the west, a tent for the rockets and a hut for the fuel were also erected, but one unexpected setback was caused by thousands of mice and rats which gnawed through many of the cables that had been laid.

In October 1937, the first A3 rockets were fired but proved unsuccessful, and the project had to be abandoned. In March 1939, a new development, the A5, was fired for the first time with good results. By now, the primitive facilities on the island had been improved. The test platform had been enlarged and a permanent flat-roofed control centre built. However, it appears that the island lost its importance as a testing ground after the beginning of the war and at the end of the A5 programme. I was told by a former Luftwaffe soldier, who had been on the Greifswalder Oie during the war, that trials with the Fi 103 (the V1) were held on the western side of the island, and I was very interested to find out what still remained.

With the unification of the two Germanys in 1990, it became possible to visit many places in the East which were formerly impossible to approach without fear of arrest and imprisonment. Greifswalder Oie was off-limits for 40 years and, not surprisingly, no regular ferry service existed. Nevertheless, it was not too difficult to find a fishing boat willing to take me to the island, and I arranged to go in the summer of 1991.

Although border troops of the German Democratic Republic were stationed on the island after the war, today it is uninhabited. It appears that the V1 control bunker was blown up in the 1950s — possibly as part of the demilitarisation programme instituted by the Potsdam Agreement — and only the ruins remained. Various buildings for searchlights, etc., for the border troops still stand, and one with a tunnel system appears to have been used by the NVA (the East German Army) for ammunition storage although it may well date from the rocket era.



Did the original control bunker (left) still survive? *Right:* These blasted remains of the V1 launch bunker were found on the west coast.



A PRISONER IN SCOTLAND

My name is Horst Rossberg and I was born on September 15, 1926 in Luckenwalde, near Berlin, the son of cabinet-maker Willi Rossberg and his wife, Helene Rossberg. From 1933 until 1941 I attended Volksschule and from 1941 to 1943 I trained as a joiner and cabinet-maker.

In July 1943, barely 17 years old, I was sent for pre-military training. Shortly after that I was called up and went to Potsdam to Infanterie-Regiment 9. Here followed basic training until February 1944. The prospective area of operations was the middle of the Russian Front, but instead I was fortunate to be one of 60 men sent in February 1944 to the west coast of France. Our journey took us through Holland and via Paris to La Rochelle. After the invasion [D-Day], we were sent as bicycle companies to Rennes, but later we were driven back towards Nantes.

On August 13 we left Nantes and pulled back to Angers, Le Mans, Tours, Orléans and from there southwards via Bourges to Lyon, and on to Dijon. From there we were supposed to go to new positions at Freiburg in Germany. We were all very pleased because we had suffered many losses and also had wounded comrades among us. However, the next morning our company commander told us that instead of going to Freiburg we were going back to engage the enemy.

We took up positions about 50 kilometres west of Epinal near Neufchâteau and were ordered to stop the further advance of the centre of the American line. Three days went by which were spent in digging trenches and keeping watch for the enemy. Over the next few days, the American Army broke through the lines on both sides and encircled us. Around 4.00 a.m. on September 13, the main offensive on our positions took place, and I was taken prisoner in Rouvres-la-Chétive, near Neufchâteau. It was exactly two days before my eighteenth birthday.



Horst Rossberg's experiences are typical of those of the thousands of German prisoners captured in France in 1944 and shipped to Britain. What makes his story different is that after his repatriation in 1948 he spent the next 42 years behind the Iron Curtain, but then met up with one of our readers, Stephen Alsop, travelling through East Germany in March 1990. Stephen writes that, 'My wife Susan and I paused in Werder, which is near Potsdam, just outside Berlin. There was a tap on the window and a gentleman asked if he could help us. After giving us directions he told us that he had been a prisoner-of-war in Scotland for three years. I inquired if he could tell us of anywhere to stay for the night as we had been finding it difficult to find accommodation and he then asked if we would like to stay with him and his wife, which we did. We were the first British people he had spoken to since the war.' *Top:* It was in Potsdam that Horst first joined the Army in 1943 and did his basic training. *Above:* The original barracks on Bauhofstrasse, used by Prussian and German soldiers back to the days of Frederick the Great, are now derelict: here Horst kneels on the exact spot where he was pictured (extreme left front row) in the line-up of No. 1 Platoon.



A familiar scene in the ports of southern England in the summer of 1944 as landing ships returning from France disgorge their complement of German prisoners. The breakthrough at St Lo and the rapid advance across France resulted in thousands of prisoners arriving in Britain from the Continent. Large numbers

were shipped on to the United States — more than 55,000 in September — which caused alarming problems for the Army Provost Marshal in Washington. In Britain, many of the transit camps recently vacated by British and American forces were pressed into accommodation for prisoners-of-war.

On the one hand, I was glad to have escaped the hell of war in the front line, but on the other, I was about to experience another form of punishment as a prisoner-of-war. I went through various American clearing camps in France that were occupied by 20,000 to 30,000 men each, suffering from exhaustion, rough handling and fatigue, and not being able to wash or shave for six weeks. The most important camps were Reims, Laon, Chartres and Cherbourg. It was a bad time and we were glad in Cherbourg to have a tent over our heads at long last, and something to eat that could actually be called food. My group was then taken onto two American and one British landing craft and shipped to Southampton.

ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND

On disembarkation we were met by British soldiers on the quay and accompanied to a waiting train. The soldiers ordered us into the carriages, six at a time. We could hardly believe our eyes when we found ourselves sitting in upholstered seats and that we were being transported in our filthy state in such a train. British soldiers came through the compartments with large teapots and issued us tea with sugar and milk. We could not believe it and felt as though we were in 'Schlaraffenland' [land of milk and honey].

The train took us to London to a handling camp on an old racecourse — we were told that this was near Hampton Park [most probably Kempton Park — see *After the Battle No. 17*]. Here we had a proper shower and our clothes were de-loused and cleaned. We were housed overnight, ten men to a tent, on the racecourse, the camp being divided into Blocks A and B.

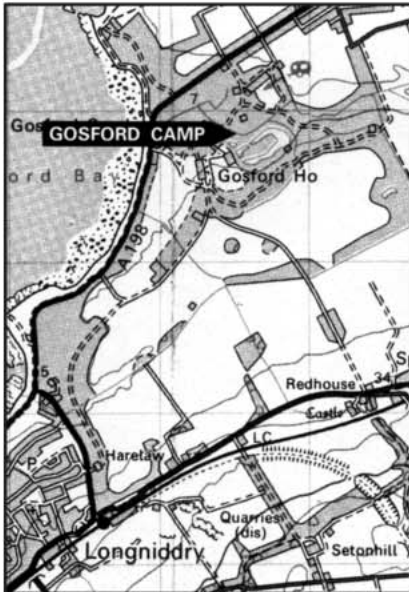
Next morning we were wakened by music over the loudspeakers and a voice called out in broken German: 'Attention! Attention! Camp A. Camp B. Get up! Get up! The sooner you get up, the sooner you get something to eat. This morning each person

will get two pieces of bread with sausage, a large piece of cake and, for every 25 men, a bucket of real coffee.' You cannot imagine what it meant for us and we all washed and dressed immediately! During the morning we were registered and I was given the prisoner-of-war number B-68425 marked in my

identity card and on my bag. Late in the afternoon we were once again put onto a train with upholstery and the journey into the unknown began. The train travelled throughout the night and the next morning we saw by the scenery that we were in Scotland.



As Horst Rossberg explains, prisoners were amazed to find themselves transported to their prison camps in normal trains. Although these photographs are not specific to Horst's imprisonment, they give a good impression of life at the time. Both from US Army files, the picture (top) shows an LST landing at Weymouth on June 11, and the one above pictures prisoners en route for an unnamed camp at Devizes in July.



The chance encounter between Stephen Alsop and Horst Rossberg led to an invitation for him and his wife to visit Britain for a nostalgic tour of the camps where Horst had spent his three years in Britain. Most were in Scotland. *Left:* Gosford Camp (No. 16 in the list on pages 49-53) being situated at

Aberlady, some 15 miles east of Edinburgh. *Right:* Horst with his wife Doris outside Gosford House which served as officers' quarters for the camp guards. The road leads to the camp and it was on this road that the prisoners were made to stand all day after the escape.

CAMP 16, NEAR LONGNIDDRY

Near Edinburgh we were picked up by lorry and taken to Gosford Camp near the little town of Longniddry. Here in this main camp on the Firth of Forth approximately 3,000 German prisoners-of-war were accommodated. Until just before Christmas 1944, about 400 men had to sleep in tents, on straw sacks on the ground, because the camp was too full. One stormy night some of the tents collapsed over our heads and we had to spend the next days and nights on the floors of the permanent accommodation corridors. Because of the cold nights in the tents, we all had bad colds and some of us had bladder infections. However, after a few days the numbers in the camp reduced and we were all given proper accommodation.

The barracks were very large, and we lived 50 men to a hut. These were painted inside by us, with views of home from memory on the walls above our bunks. There were some real artists among us. We also made little gardens in front of the barracks. In a large hall there were a theatre and cinema, and left of the main entrance was a football pitch and a sports ground. Really, there was everything there that could make camp life more bearable.

At Christmas, celebrations were organised and each of us received some Weihnachtstollen and Christmas cake, and 20 Reichsmarks from the Red Cross. Around ten o'clock on Christmas Eve we were awakened by sirens, and it was said that German aircraft were attacking Edinburgh so, in accordance with the Geneva Convention, our camp was brightly illuminated with searchlights from the watch-towers!

After Christmas, the first work parties were detailed, and we had the prospect of seeing another environment and other people. However, we had to sign an undertaking that we would establish no personal contact with civilians.

We were collected early in the morning by military and civilian lorries and brought back to the camp late in the afternoon. At the beginning the work was voluntary, but later it was compulsory for everyone. Every morning at six o'clock, and at six o'clock each evening, all 3,000 men had to stand in six rows on the main roadway of the camp for roll-call, taken by a British officer and four soldiers.

AN UNPLEASANT INCIDENT

One morning in the spring, the roll-call was not correct. It was called several times but a few people were missing, and a short time later the officer, whom we had nicknamed 'Lui', came and ordered us, in German, to state from which barracks the men were missing. However, those responsible for each of the barracks remained silent. In the meantime, the guards had established that there was a hole in the barbed wire fence under one of the watch-towers, and that the four missing prisoners had left a cloth bag with food in it hanging on the wire. 'Lui' now ordered us to remain standing on the camp roadway and said that all 3,000 men would be inspected one by one so that the identity of the escapees could be established. During the roll-call there was unrest in the ranks and we were constantly being ordered to keep quiet. 'Lui' shouted: 'If you are not quiet I will keep you standing here for three days.' Immediately someone from one of the back rows shouted back: 'That's all right. We've

got three years.' 'Lui' got very annoyed and wanted to know the name of the man who had shouted, but could not find out. We all had to laugh because the caller was right — we really were prisoners for a further three years. As a punishment we all had to stand there without breakfast or lunch until the evening, but at six o'clock we got breakfast, lunch and supper all at the same time!

For some weeks in the spring of 1945 we had a very good working group on a farm near Edinburgh. The owner, a widow, had asked for eleven prisoners to do the work left over from the previous year which also included the harvest. We were very happy to do this work as there was a good atmosphere on the farm. Each day we would have our midday meal in the farmhouse at a long table covered with a white cloth, and a good meal was served. We also got something to drink, a sweet course, and there were even cigarettes for the smokers. In the afternoon cake served with a large pot of tea was brought to us in the fields



Frau Doris Rossberg with Stephen and Susan Alsop beside the few huts that remain, now used by the sawmill belonging to Gosford House for storage. The large building in the background was the camp cinema.



On May 8, a very sunny day, the owner came in her car to where we were working and told us that Germany had surrendered and it was all over. We threw our arms round each other and shouted with joy. She could not understand our happiness and said, 'You have lost the war; how can you be so pleased?' We told her that we were happy that at last the war was finished, no more bombs would fall and our families would no longer need to fear for their lives. Also the time had come when we could reckon on a definite time for our release.

The work on the farm came to an end about this time. We took our leave of the farm owner on very good terms. She told us that we were very hard-working and had finished the work almost four weeks earlier than she had calculated.

The weekends passed in the camp with sport, games, theatre and colourful concerts. We had a band in the camp with thirty musicians and every imaginable instrument. This band also went to Edinburgh to play before members of the British Army. In the theatre, some men had to play the female parts, and they were so convincing that the camp commandant believed we had smuggled women into the camp!

One evening when we returned to the camp from work we had to remain at the camp gate. There were about 200 prisoners there from the groups that had already arrived, and we were marched under guard to the camp theatre. Here we were shown a documentary film about the recently discovered German concentration camps. What we saw then was incomprehensible to us. We simply could not come to terms with the fact that those capable of such acts had formed our government. For young people like us, the world in which we had lived as children and in whose schools we had been educated, crumbled.

Concert time. Whether it was Allied prisoners languishing in Stalags in Germany, or German prisoners held in camps in Britain, self-made entertainment was always a popular pastime, but it was the quality of the German 'women' that gave cause for concern at Camp Gosford! In the curtain call picture below, Horst is sitting front right. 'From one of my comrades I also learned to play chess,' recalled Horst. 'We had tournaments where one player played against a hundred other players. At weekends we also played football with the British Army.'



DEPARTURE FROM GOSFORD CAMP

Late one afternoon when we came back to the camp, I found a note on my bed asking me to report to the work office immediately. There I was told that I had to be ready at the camp gate with my kitbag and all my things at ten o'clock the next morning. I was to be moved to another camp. All my objections, and those of my friends in the camp through our spokesman, did nothing to help. It seemed that 'Lui' had chosen me and that was that.

Next morning, after my luggage had been searched, I had to get into a Jeep with a British driver and a guard. We drove for about one and a half hours through the Scottish hills and stopped at a small inn for something to eat. I was invited in by the guard and here, for the first time since I had become a prisoner-of-war, I had my first glass of beer. We went through a town that I later came to know as Hawick, and after another few miles we turned right under a high stone railway bridge.



The main part of Camp 16 lay in the field between the house (in the left background) and the cinema on the right.



From Gosford, Horst was transferred south to Stobs Camp near Hawick in Roxburghshire. This is the entrance which he once entered as a prisoner-of-war.

ARRIVAL IN STOBS CAMP

Suddenly before us lay a large army camp in a valley. The gently sloping hillsides were covered by a variety of barracks and huts, and hundreds of English, Scottish and Irish soldiers were billeted there. I could hear a pipe band practising. After reporting to the guardroom, we drove through the whole camp to the exit at the back, to the left of the hill, and stopped in front of a barbed wire fence three metres high and around a hundred metres long, with an entrance gate. This was the compound for the 30 prisoners stationed here. I was very disappointed, for by comparison with Camp 16 at Longniddry it was like a prison.

Here at Stobs, our camp consisted of six tents with three double-tiered bunk beds, a large tent used as a dining-room with tables and benches, a rectangular corrugated iron

hut for the kitchen, and a washroom and toilet block, also of corrugated iron. Outside the camp fence, and parallel to it, stood six Nissen huts, of which only the last was used as a guardroom. The other five were all empty, so we could not understand why we had to live in tents. A double guard walked along our barbed wire fence day and night to keep watch on us.

I was greeted in a friendly way by the prisoners already there, and of course everyone wanted to know what it was like in the main camp, and what news I had brought. The camp cook, a man from Bavaria, immediately put before me a meal such as my mother would have cooked. The other prisoners in my tent were Walter Gerber and Bernd Kurkus from east Germany, and Alfred Studt from west Germany. As carpenters we were given work on alterations

and maintenance of the army barracks and canteen in Stobs Camp. For a long time we were also employed, with four other men, in putting up an enclosure around the camp and Stobs Castle, and the work pleased us as it brought variety into our lives. We came to know Mr William Mitchell, who was in charge of the work and responsible for giving it out, quite well; he was always a correct and fair Clerk of Works who also understood our problems.

Another man we met was Mr Walter Oliver, in charge of the anti-tank range. He lived with his family on the hillside above the camp. We also got to know, through our work on the fence, the forester who lived in Stobs Cottage and the Misses Barrie on the hill above the forester's house. These people were all very good to us.

In the summer of 1945, after a violent



Stobs was a small unit for some 30 prisoners, all tradesmen, employed on the maintenance of the adjacent hatted barracks.

storm, our tent was very badly damaged and we were allowed to extend the camp fence, and in this way enclose and occupy the empty huts.

Near Stobs Camp there was a small cemetery, and here were buried German prisoners who had died in the First World War. Among them were sailors from SMS *Blücher*. We restored this cemetery and replanted the grave plots.

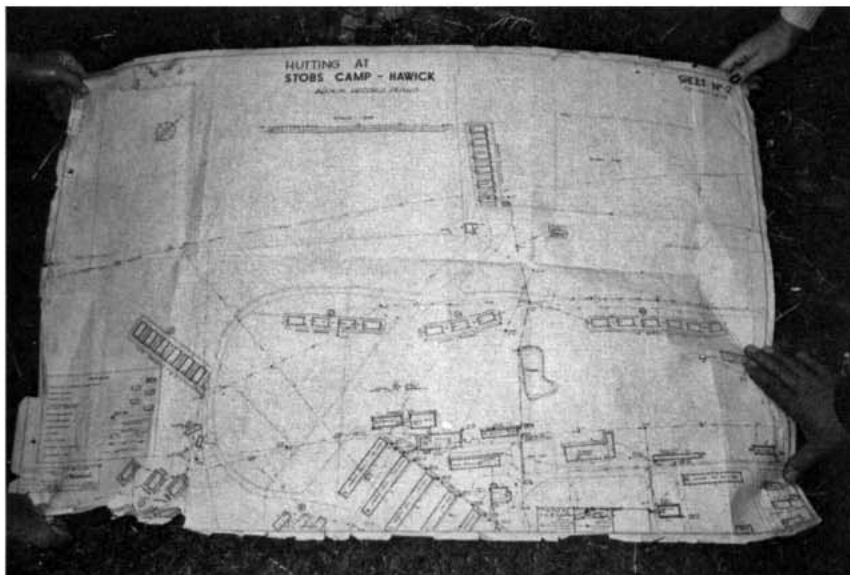
A few times we were sent by the forester in Stobs Cottage to fell trees for the sawmill in Newmill. On one such occasion, there were four of us and our group leader was Gerhard Schacker from the Rhineland, a senior sailor in the Kriegsmarine. The forester instructed us on how to fell a tree that stood opposite the forester's house, close to the wall. To make sure, we had a strong rope with a block and tackle fixed on the opposite side by the side of a stream and, after we had cut the tree in three places, we pulled it in that direction. However, as the tree began to lean towards the stream, the rope broke and it swayed back towards the house. I think we all held our breath in fright, but the tree remained standing. We then decided to leave the trunk standing and to cut off three big branches at about 1.80 metres and let them fall across the wall onto the road. Because of this the road was blocked for over an hour and we worked feverishly to remove this part of the tree.

In August, shortly before my nineteenth birthday, Japan capitulated. That day the soldiers in Stobs Camp took all kinds of inflammable material out to the surrounding hills and built big bonfires. When it was dark these fires were lit and many flares and grenades exploded in the night sky. One grenade which did not explode came through the roof of our toilet block. It was a restless night for us, but the war was finally over.

In the winter of 1945-46, unusually heavy snow fell in Scotland. The roads were cut off and feeding stuffs had to be dropped from planes for the sheep that were on the hills. We were often employed to shovel snow.

Spring brought many surprises to us in Stobs Camp. I got the first mail from my parents, and fortunately everyone was well. My father, who had also been a prisoner in Britain, had by this time already been discharged which was a great joy and relief to me.

One day when we returned to the camp from work we were informed that from then on we would not be guarded and next day we had to take down the barbed wire fence. We were thunderstruck! Between one day and the next the situation had changed for us and now we were also allowed to go for walks in the surrounding hills. Of course we made full use of these opportunities and in our free time we would walk for hours. We soon got to know our surroundings well.



With the aid of an old plan of the camp . . .



. . . Horst was able to pinpoint his hut . . . and where his bed had stood!

The summer of 1946 was very warm and we were occupied in building a cattle grid in the stream between Newmill and Stobs Castle. At the end of the summer, units of the Free Polish Army came to Stobs and, because it was feared that we would not get on well with the Poles, our small working group of 35 men was disbanded.

At the end of August we had to pack our things and take our leave of Stobs Camp where so much work had been entrusted to us. It was not easy for us to say goodbye to Mr Hunter, Mr Mitchell (his deputy), Mr Oliver, and the Misses Barry, who had all been very good to us. We were to be taken by two lorries to a camp in Dalkeith, near



The episode with the tree was vivid in Horst's mind, and he even had an old photograph of the stump. When he walked



from the camp to Stobs Cottage, he was amazed to find the remains still standing beside the wall!



Edinburgh, and here we were with some hundreds of other German prisoners, working on the surrounding farms. After about two weeks 14 of us (all former Stobs people) were called to the orderly room and next day we got orders to go back to Stobs Camp. We were delighted, although it meant being separated from our comrades, but that was just the fate of a prisoner-of-war and couldn't be helped.

Our next accommodation because of the Poles was at Hawick in Wilton Camp. This camp was actually in the town and around 200 German prisoners were housed there. The 14 of us from Stobs Camp occupied one of the Nissen huts in the top right-hand

It was a memorable experience for Horst to be able to leave East Germany and journey back with his wife to Scotland and to Stobs . . . a place he had come to know so well. *Left: At the house of the Misses Barry, and right on the path from the camp to the castle.*

corner. We were taken each day from Hawick to Stobs Camp, usually in a large Army truck with a civilian driver. His name was William and he had just been allocated a house in the, at that time, newly-built housing estate behind our camp in Hawick. Unfortunately I do not know his surname. In 1946 he would be about 30 years old, and we always had a very good understanding with him.

On Sunday mornings 50 or 60 of us often

went to a church service in the town, and it was always an experience for us to hear the choir sing. The Salvation Army marched through the town and stopped to play music on the street corners. This for us was something completely unknown.

Two slaters also belonged to our work group. I sometimes worked with them to replace damaged roofs, and in this way we worked on the cottages at Stobs and Stobs Castle. One of the slaters was called Paul



Horst — a prisoner at Stobs Camp in the summer of 1946 and a free man, in more than one sense, in 1990.

Right: Back at the castle once again. After Horst's group was transferred from Stobs Camp because it was feared that their presence might cause trouble with the Polish troops who had been brought in, the Germans were moved to accommodation in the town of Hawick itself — where the new police and fire stations have now been built. Below right: Horst meets old friends: on the left Mr Fergus Hunter, (senior Clerk of Works); Mrs Wilma Spreng (daughter of Bill Mitchell the Clerk of Works) and Mrs Reené Curry (née Oliver) who gave Horst his first kiss.

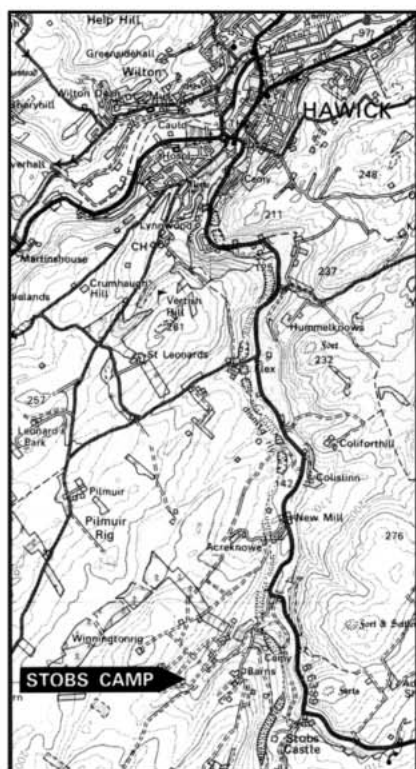
Marzinsky who was approximately the same age as my father and he was a good friend. Time passed and it was winter again, but the end of 1946 brought for us prisoners a really memorable occasion.

RECONCILIATION

Just before Christmas, large reconciliation services were held, with thousands of German prisoners attending, our service being held in front of the cathedral in Edinburgh. After this we were allowed to come and go as we pleased. We were allowed to form relationships with families, accept invitations and even, later on, marry British girls. It was a big day for us and many of us received invitations from families to share Christmas with them.

Our plumber, Toni, about the same age as myself, and I had an invitation from the Oliver family at Stobs. We were picked up by taxi in Hawick feeling very nervous and shy. As we entered the house we stopped and then something unbelievable happened — the two daughters Reené and Margot came up to us and greeted us with a kiss! We did not know what was happening and I think we had very red faces because for both of us it was the first time in our lives that a girl had kissed us. The people present enjoyed our discomfiture and pointed above our heads to the ceiling, and there a large sprig of mistletoe was hanging above the door.

In the early part of the New Year we worked in parks and mansion houses in Selkirk and Melrose, but our group was soon disbanded and now it really was goodbye to Stobs and to Hawick.



Stobs Camp was established in 1903 as a summer training camp for British Army volunteer units for up to 20,000 men, like the Galloway Rifles, Roxburgh and Selkirk Border Rifles, Berwickshire Volunteers and Dumfriesshire Volunteers. The first prisoners arrived in early November 1914 when the camp was mainly under canvas until huts were built. As well as accommodation for the PoWs, there was a YMCA, a post office and a cemetery. Towards the end of 1939, a large building programme commenced when Nissen huts and a generator station were built and the REME moved in. During 1946-47 it was used as a resettlement camp for Polish forces, finally being abandoned in 1959. Today virtually nothing remains of Stobs Camp — this is the view from the hillside.



By 1947, restrictions on prisoners in Britain were minimal, recalcitrant, violent or diehard Nazis having long been removed from the mainstream camps (most having been dealt with at Camp 18 in Featherstone Park at Haltwhistle near Newcastle).

Horst's next move was to Tealing near Dundee (*above*), where prisoners were accommodated in brick-built huts which were part of the nearby RAF airfield. His hut is the one in the centre, his bed being at the right-hand end behind the window.

NORTH TO TEALING

We went back to Dalkeith and from there travelled by train via Dumfries to Newton Stewart. We were in a camp with several hundred other prisoners, and every day large groups of us went into the forest to plant trees, while we also dug drainage ditches. We planted an entire hill with young trees and, because it had such black soil, we called it the 'Black Hill'. It was hard, boring work and none of us could get very enthusiastic about it.

After a couple of weeks I was sent out on my own to work on a farm near Newton Stewart. It was a small farm run by a family of four, dealing mainly in cattle rearing and

milk production, and the foodstuffs for the cattle were grown in the surrounding fields. I was made very welcome here and ate along with the family; I was, in fact, one of the family. Here for the first time in my life I had to deal with horses, and the farmer showed me patiently how to work with them. It was a good time and I learned a lot about the surrounding countryside.

One weekend fifty volunteers were sought for work further north in Scotland, to leave the following morning. I volunteered because I thought it could only be a good thing to get to know the northern part of Scotland. We went by rail via Edinburgh to Dundee on the Firth of Tay, where we were picked up at

the station by trucks driven by German drivers. We drove in the direction of Forfar to Tealing, four miles from Dundee, which was near to the military aerodrome. The camp lay in a birch wood and had an open fence. Here we lived 15 to a hut with single metal beds. Our work was very varied and at one time six of us were on a chicken farm at Monifieth on the coast.

We also worked in Arbroath and Montrose, and for a time we were taken by bus to Aberdeen to repair German gliders at the aerodrome there. Amongst them were gliders made in the Black Forest. We were sent to do this work because we had been working on gliders before conscription. I had worked



The aerodrome had been used for flying training but the location had proved a poor choice, with frequent bad weather conditions, and the station was put on care and maintenance at

the end of the war. Horst found the remains of a couple of roofless huts, a few semi-sunken air raid shelters, but little else that he recognised.



on them since I was 14 years of age and spent many hours building them myself. We really enjoyed this work and we were allowed to move freely around the aerodrome. We could look at lots of planes but we were strictly controlled when arriving and leaving.

In the summer we mainly worked with the harvest on the farms around Forfar. Here I learned from a very young farmer how to drive a tractor and how to load sheaves onto a truck without sides, but at my first attempt I lost half of them before I reached the farm!

At weekends it was possible for us to go by bus or on foot to Dundee, where there were many things for us to see. We particularly enjoyed climbing the hill called 'The Law' in the middle of the city because from there we could see the whole of Dundee and across the Firth of Tay to Newport. I remember an old sailing ship that lay in the harbour and was used as a trading office or a museum. On our walks we got to know a policeman who patrolled the district above Kingsway. He was very interested in Germany and often spoke to us. Shortly before Christmas we went shopping in Dundee and bought photos of the wedding of Princess Elizabeth. At this time we were working for a timber merchant in Dundee and had to chop firewood every day in the woods between Dundee and Perth and make it ready for the fire. We had so much work to do that on Christmas Eve we were on duty until 3 o'clock, and at 5 o'clock our camp Christmas festivities were to begin. However, at 4.30 we were still waiting at the roadside at the edge of the wood for our truck to come and pick us up but, because it broke down, we did not return to the camp until 5.30 p.m. and were only able to join in the latter half of the Christmas ceremony.



Above: Horst, right, on a work detail in the summer of 1947. **Below:** Back at Tealing in 1990, Horst, right, meets a former prisoner, Egon Cur Rode, centre, who stayed on and married a local girl. With the group is Charlie Young and his wife, on whose land the camp stood.



Many of my comrades had already been notified that we would be released in January, including my friend Ernst Rank from Orlamünde in Thüringen, who was in Release Group 27. As I was in Group 28, I could reckon on being released in spring 1948.

At Hogmanay, I was invited by a cinema owner in Dundee to a party at which there were about 20 people and I was able to experience a Scottish New Year. At mid-

night we went into the town to watch fireworks in the city centre then, in the late afternoon of New Year's Day, I was accompanied to the bus station by my host and many other guests who wished me farewell in a hearty fashion. From this time on I had free cinema visits and there saw my first colour film, *Duel in the Sun*, also *The Man Within* and *Fanny by Gaslight*. These were unforgettable experiences for me.



Left: The kitchen and dining hall have not survived, but the camp hospital (**right**) still remains, converted into a private home.



RELEASE

Around the middle of January 1948, I was informed that I would be released in March. Now we had four weeks in which to decide whether we would prefer to work voluntarily for another year in Scotland, or return home. This was not an easy decision. I had become a soldier at barely 17 and had not seen my parents for four-and-a-half years. I was very homesick, but on the other hand, Scotland had become a second home for me and the people and the land meant a great deal to me. After much reflection I finally decided to return to my parents. Now I went from the hostel in Tealing to a transit camp near Perth, which was next to the main railway line.

When the time came, we travelled south by train to Sheffield, where we went to a camp a few kilometres outside the town, surrounded by a clinker wall. We were accommodated in large Nissen huts, but our stay there lasted only a few days and on February 28, we were taken on double-decker buses to the station. We then went by train to Hull for embarkation to Holland.

After going through customs, where our kitbags and cases were examined, we boarded a relatively small ship on which the sailors told us that we could reckon on a stormy crossing. We were on deck as the ship left the harbour and I, along with many others, found tears in my eyes. After such a long time it was not easy to leave, and now we were going into an unknown future, especially unknown for those of us from what was now the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany.

We had hardly reached the open sea before many people were sick, and the sailors simply kept saying: 'It's very bad weather.' On landing in Holland we had to be very careful to watch our luggage when it was unloaded, as there were many individuals about who tried to steal from prisoners returning home. After a snack in a large hall we were moved to Germany in a train without any seats. When we arrived at Munster I was equipped with the necessary release papers for my journey home. I travelled under difficult circumstances to my home town near Berlin, and was warmly welcomed by my parents and my sister after our long years of separation.

In all the years thereafter it was always my dream to return to England and Scotland once more in my lifetime. Unfortunately, for 41 years it remained only a dream, and it was only after the Berlin Wall came down and the change of political direction in East Germany that I had any hope of realising this dream.



Repatriation for Horst came in March 1948 when he spent three weeks in Lodge Moor Camp just outside Sheffield. Being situated just outside Stephen Alsop's home town, this was an easy camp to find although, apart from the original wall with the bricked-up entrance, the buildings disappeared many years ago. New woodland was planted, so some locals say, to obliterate all trace of the camp.



A fortunate chance meeting in March 1990 in my new home town of Werder brought us together with an English couple, Stephen and Susan Alsop, from Sheffield. With

generous help from them, later that year we travelled to England and Scotland — for my wife Doris and I this was a truly great experience and one we will never forget.



Horst returned to Germany after his memorable visit the same way as in 1948: by train to Hull and ferry to Holland, 'although,' as Stephen comments, 'the ship was somewhat more luxurious than the last one he travelled in!'

3817

CONTROL FORM D.2
Kontrollblatt D.2

CERTIFICATE OF DISCHARGE
Entlassungsschein

ALL ENTRIES WILL BE MADE IN BLOCK LATIN CAPITALS AND WILL BE MADE IN INK OR TYPE-SCRIPT.

PERSONAL PARTICULARS
Personalbeschreibung

SURNAME OF HOLDER
Familienname des Inhabers: ROSSBERG

DATE OF BIRTH
Geburtsdatum (DAY/MONTH/YEAR): 15. 9. 26.

CHRISTIAN NAMES
Vorname des Inhabers: HORST

PLACE OF BIRTH
Geburtsort: LORENZBURG

CIVIL OCCUPATION
Beruf oder Beschäftigung: TISCHLER

HOME ADDRESS
Heimatanschrift: 11556 HILSE
Ort: ISERLONN
Kreis: ...
Regierungsbezirk/Land: ARNOLD

FAMILY STATUS - SINGLE
Familienstand: MARRIED (Verheiratet)
WIDOW (ER) (Verwitwet)
DIVORCED (Geschieden)

NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO ARE MINORS
Zahl der minderjährigen Kinder: ...

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF THE PARTICULARS GIVEN ABOVE ARE TRUE.
Ich erkläre hiermit, nach bestem Wissen und Gewissen, dass die obigen Angaben wahr sind, dass der Inhaber ungeleitet ist und dass er keinerlei ansteckende oder übertragbare Krankheit hat.

SIGNATURE OF HOLDER
Unterschrift des Inhabers: ...

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE
Ärztlicher Befund

DISTINGUISHING MARKS
Besondere Kennzeichen: ...

DISABILITY, WITH DESCRIPTION
Dienstunfähigkeit, mit Beschreibung: ...

MEDICAL CATEGORY
Tauglichkeitsgrad: ...

I CERTIFY THAT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF THE ABOVE PARTICULARS RELATING TO THE HOLDER ARE TRUE AND THAT HE IS NOT VERMINOUS OR SUFFERING FROM ANY INFECTIOUS OR CONTAGIOUS DISEASE.

SIGNATURE OF MEDICAL OFFICER
Unterschrift des Sanitätsleiters: ...

NAME AND RANK OF MEDICAL OFFICER
IN BLOCK LATIN CAPITALS
Zusatz: Vorname (Dienstgrad des Sanitätsleiters) (In lateinischer Druckschrift und in grossen Buchstaben): ...

DELETE THAT WHICH IS INAPPLICABLE
Nichtzutreffendes durchstreichen

III
PARTICULARS OF DISCHARGE
Entlassungsvermerk

THE PERSON TO WHOM THE ABOVE PARTICULARS REFER
Die Person auf die sich obige Angaben beziehen: HEER

WAS DISCHARGED ON (Date)
wurde am (Datum der Entlassung): 26 FEB 1948

FROM THE
von/von der: ...

26 FEB 1948
- 2. März 1948

RIGHT THUMBPRINT
Abdruck des rechten Daumens: ...

CERTIFIED BY
Beglaubigt durch: ...

NAME, RANK AND APPOINTMENT OF ALLIED DISCHARGING OFFICER IN BLOCK CAPITALS
Name, Rang und Ernennung des alliierten Entlassungsoffiziers in Blockbuchstaben: ...

OFFICIAL
EMBOSSED SEAL
Amtlicher Eingestempel: ...

DISCHARGE
No. 2
W.F.P. CAMP
BUCHSTABEN

INSERT "ARMY", "NAVY", "AIR FORCE", "VOLKSSTURM", OR PARAMILITARY ORGANIZATION, e.g. "R.A.D.", "N.S.F.K.", ETC.
Militärstellung oder Gliederung der Einheit angeben, z.B. "Heer", "Kriegsmarine", "Luftwaffe", "Volkssturm", "Waffen SS", oder "R.A.D.", "N.S.F.K.", u.s.w.

CLOTHING.
Within 30 days of the date of discharge as shown on discharge form D.2 you must provide yourself with a civilian suit or outfit of clothing to be worn after you are released from prison under Ordinance 13 for the period of your release.

Inschick 30 Tagen nach dem Datum der Entlassung form D.2 müssen Sie sich ein ziviles Outfit beschaffen, das Sie nach Ihrer Freilassung unter Ordinance 13 für die Dauer Ihrer Freilassung zu tragen haben.

Form D2 — a prisoner's discharge certificate — was his passport to freedom. From their wartime peak running into hundreds of camps in the UK, by 1947 the number had been reduced to just under 250. Many of the famous camps had

closed, like No. 1 at Grizedale Hall, from where Oberleutnant Franz von Werra attempted to escape in October 1940, and No. 13 at Swanwick where he tunneled out with other prisoners two months later. (See After the Battle No. 2.)

PRISONER-OF-WAR CAMPS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AS AT FEBRUARY 20, 1947

- | | | | |
|---|---|--|---|
| 2 Toft Hall Camp, Knutsford, Cheshire. | 30 Carpenters Road Camp, Stratford, London, E15. | 46 Kingsfold Camp, Billingshurst, Sussex. | 62 The Moor Camp, Thankerton, Biggar, Lanarkshire. |
| 4 Scraftoft Camp, Scraftoft Thurnby, Leicester. | 31 Ettington Park Camp, Newbold-on-Avon, Stratford-on-Avon, Warwickshire. | 47 Montcombe Park Camp, Shaftesbury, Dorset. | 63 Balhary East Camp, c/o GPO Alyth, Perthshire. |
| 9 Quorn Camp, Quorn, Loughborough, Leics. | 32 Scrubbs Lane Camp, Scrubbs Lane, Shepherds Bush, London, W12. | 48 Greenfield Farm Camp, Presteigne, Radnor. | 64 Castle Rankine Camp, Denny, Stirlingshire. |
| 11 Island Farm Camp, Bridgend, Glam. | 35 Boughton Park Camp, Boughton, Northampton. | 49 Farndon Road Camp, Market Harborough, Leics. | 65 Setley Plain Camp, Brockenhurst, Hants. |
| 16 Gosford Camp, Aberlady, Longniddry, East Lothian. | 36 Hartwell Dog Track Camp, Aylesbury, Bucks. | 50 Garswood Park Camp, Ashton-in-Makerfield, Wigan, Lancs. | 66 Sandyhillcock Camp, Craigellachie, Banffshire. |
| 17 Lodge Moor Camp, Sheffield. | 37 Sudeley Castle Camp, Winchcomb, Cheltenham, Glos. | 51 Allington Camp, Allington, Grantham, Lincs. | 69 Darras Hall Camp, Ponteland, Newcastle-on-Tyne. |
| 18 Featherstone Park Camp, Haltwhistle, Northumberland. | 38 Pool Park Camp, Ruthin, Denbighshire. | 52 Nether Headen Camp, Retford, Notts. | 70 Henllan Bridge Camp, Henllan, Llandyssil, Cardiganshire. |
| 19 Happenden Camp, Douglas, Lanarkshire. | 39 Castle Camp, Maxstoke, Coleshill, Warwickshire. | 53 Sandbeds Camp, Brayton, Selby, Yorkshire. | 71 Sheriff Hales Camp, Shifnal, Salop. |
| 21 Comrie Camp, Comrie, Perthshire. | 40 Somerhill Camp, Somerhill, Tonbridge, Kent. | 54 Hampton Lovett Camp, Droitwich, Worcs. | 72 Ducks Cross Camp, Colmworth, Bedford. |
| 23 Sudbury Camp, Sudbury, Derby. | 41 Ganger Camp, Romsey, Hants. | 55 Shalstone Camp, Shalstone, Bucks. | 73 Storwood Camp, Melbourn, York. |
| 25 Lodge Farm Camp, Farncombe Down, Lambourn, Newbury, Berks. | 42 Exhibition Field Camp, Holsworthy, Devon. | 56 Botesdale Camp, Botesdale, Suffolk. | 74 Racecourse Camp, Tarporley, Cheshire. |
| 26 Barton Field Camp, Ely, Cambs. | 43 Harcourt Hill Camp, North Hinksey, Berks. | 57 Merrow Downs Camp, Guildford, Surrey. | 75 North Hill Camp, Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire. |
| 27 Ledbury Camp, Ledbury, Herefordshire. | 44 Goathurst Camp, Goathurst, Bridgwater, Somerset. | 58 Nether Heage Camp, Nr. Belper, Derbyshire. | 76 Merry Thought Camp, Calthwaite, Penrith, Cumberland. |
| 28 Knighthorpe Camp, Ashby Road, Loughborough, Leics. | 45 Trumpington Camp, Trumpington, Cambs. | 59 Sawtry Camp, Wood Walton Lane, Sawtry, Huntingdon. | 77 Anssmuir Camp, Ladybank, Fife. |
| 29 Royston Heath Camp, Royston, Herts. | | 60 Overdale Camp, Skipton, Yorkshire. | 78 High Garrett Camp, Braintree, Essex. |
| | | 61 Wynolls Hill Camp, Broadwell, Coleford, Glos. | |

- 79 Moorby Camp,
Revesby, Boston, Lincs.
- 80 Horbling Camp,
Sleaford, Lincs.
- 81 Pingley Farm Camp,
Brigg, Lincs.
- 82 Hempton Green Camp,
Fakenham, Norfolk.
- 84 Sheet Camp,
Ludlow, Shropshire.
- 85 Victoria Camp,
Brandon Road,
Mildenhall,
Bury St Edmunds,
Suffolk.
- 86 Stanhope Camp,
Ashford, Kent.
- 87 Byfield Camp,
Byfield, Rugby,
Warwickshire.
- 88 Mortimer Camp,
Mortimer, Reading, Berks.
- 89 Easton Grey Camp,
Malmesbury, Wilts.
- 90 Friday Bridge Camp,
Wisbech, Cambs.
- 92 Bampton Road Camp,
Tiverton, Devon.
- 93 Harperley Camp,
Fir Tree, Bishop Auckland,
County Durham.
- 94 Gaulby Road Camp,
Billesdon, Leicestershire.
- 95 Bedford Camp,
Harpenden, Herts.
- 96 Wolseley Road Camp,
Rugeley, Staffs.
- 97 Birdingbury Camp,
Bourton, Rugby.
- 99 The Military Hospital,
Shugborough Park,
Shugborough, Great
Haywood, Staffs.
- 100 St Martins Camp,
St Martins, Oswestry,
Shropshire.
- 101 Glandulas Camp,
Newtown, Montgomery.
- 102 Llanddarog Camp,
Llanddarog, Carmarthen.
- 103 Moota Camp,
Cockermouth,
Cumberland.
- 104 Beela River Camp,
Milnthorpe,
Westmorland.
- 105 Wooler Camp,
Brewery Road,
Wooler, Northumberland.
- 106 Stamford Camp,
Stamford, Lincs.
- 107 Penleigh Camp,
Wookey Hole,
Wells, Somerset.
- 108 Thirkleby Camp,
Thirkleby,
Thirsk, Yorkshire.
- 109 Brahan Castle Camp,
Dingwall,
Ross and Cromarty.
- 110 Stuartfield Camp,
Mintlaw Station,
Aberdeenshire.
- 111 Deer Park Camp,
Monymusk, Aberdeen.
- 112 Doonfoot Camp, Ayr.
- 113 Holm Park Camp,
Newton Stewart,
Wigtownshire.
- 114 Edenvale Camp,
Westbury, Wilts.
- 115 White Cross Camp,
St Columb, Cornwall.
- 116 Mill Lane Camp,
Hatfield Heath,
Essex.



The famous Island Farm Camp No. 11 (*see issue No. 67*), which saw the largest mass German escape, was still in use for VIP prisoners, but Shap Wells (Camp No. 15), from where Oberleutnant Harry Wappler and Leutnant Heinz Schnabel made their audacious bid for freedom (*see issue No. 17*), had reverted to its pre-war status of an hotel. Above: Camp No. 15 as sketched by Leutnant Heinz-Georg Möllenbrok (*issue 70*) and below as it is today as the considerably extended Shap Wells Hotel.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 117 Walderslade Camp,
King George Street,
Chatham, Kent. | 125 Newlands House,
Tooting Bec Road,
London, SW17. | 151 Lawne Camp, Coven,
Wolverhampton,
Staffs. |
| 118 Mardy Camp, Mardy,
Abergavenny, Mon. | 129 Ashford Lodge Camp,
Halstead, Essex. | 153 Fulney Park, Spalding,
Lincs. |
| 119 'Bryn Estyn',
Albert Drive,
Llandudno Junction,
Caernarvonshire. | 135 Stanbury House Camp,
Spencer's Wood, Reading,
Berks. | 154 Ministry of Works Camp,
Swanscombe, Greenhithe,
Kent. |
| 120 Sunlaws Camp,
Kelso, Roxburghshire. | 136 Welton House,
Welton, Nr. Brough,
East Yorks. | 156 The Heath Camp,
Wellingore, Lincoln. |
| 121 Scriven Hall Camp,
Nr. Knaresborough,
Yorkshire. | 137 Chaddle Wood House,
Chaddle Wood Camp,
Plympton, Devon. | 157 Bourton Camp,
Bourton on the Hill,
Moreton in the Marsh,
Glos. |
| 122 Oxhey Lane Camp,
Uxbridge Road,
Hatch End, Middlesex. | 139 Wolviston Hall,
Wolviston, Billingham,
County Durham. | 160 The Military Hospital,
Lydiard Park, Purton,
Swindon, Wilts. |
| 123 Dalmahoy Camp,
Kirknewton, Midlothian. | 141 Beason House Camp,
St Neots, Hunts. | 162 Military Hospital,
Naburn, York. |
| 124 Bedminster Camp,
Ashton Gate, Bristol. | 145 Normanhurst Court Camp,
Battle, Sussex. | 165 Watten Camp, Watten,
Wick, Caithness. |

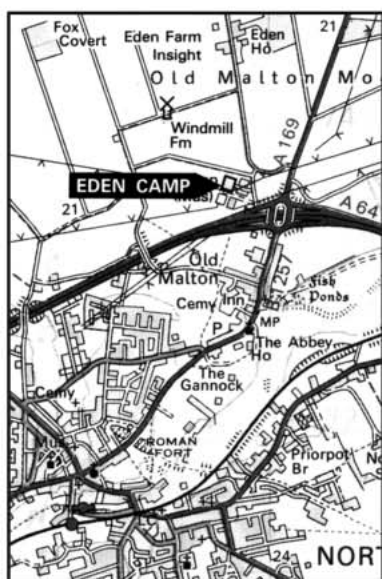




Today all the camps have closed ... bar one! In 1986, Yorkshire business man, Stan Johnson, purchased Eden Camp (No. 250) at Old Malton which still survived virtually intact, with 35 of the original huts still standing. The camp (initially No. 83) had first opened in 1942 with a complement

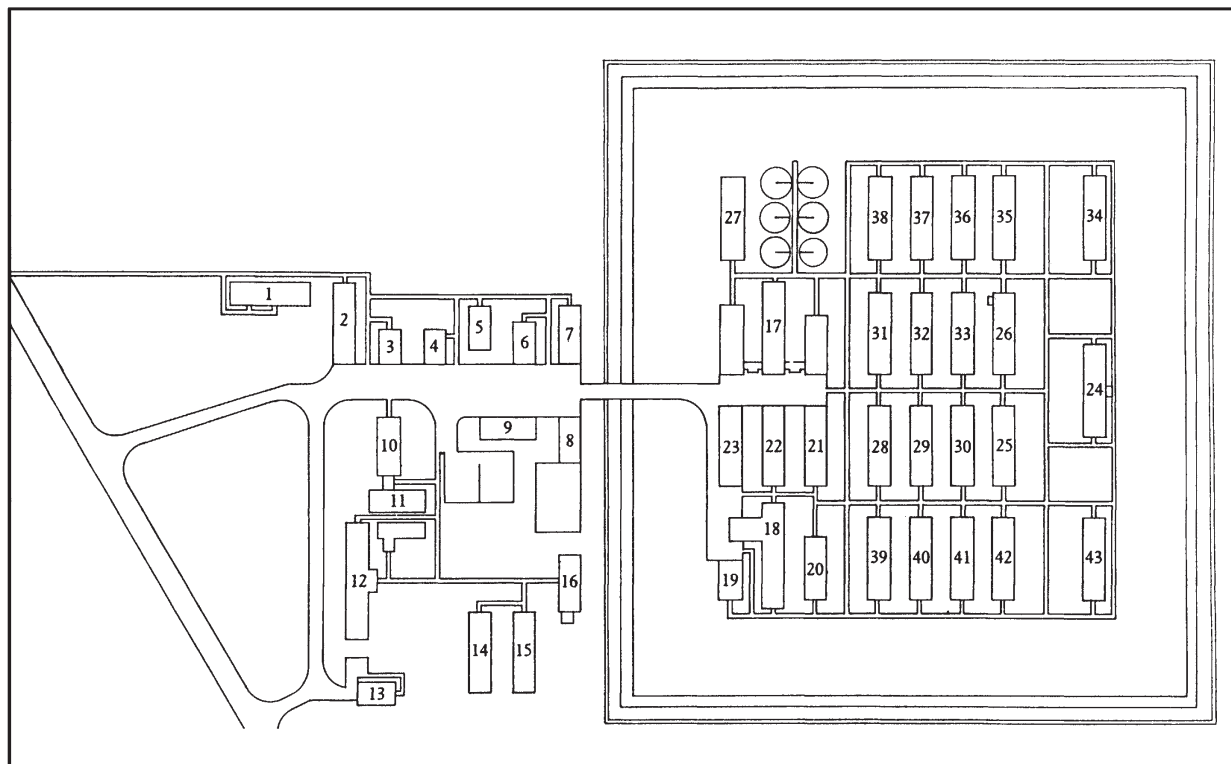
of 250 Italian prisoners captured in North Africa. They occupied a tented camp and were set to work to construct a permanent camp comprising 45 huts which later housed both Italians and Germans. W. Birch and Sons of York were responsible to the War Department for the camp layout.

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| 166 Wollaton Park Camp, Nottingham. | 184 Llanmartin Camp, Magor, Newport, Mon. | 232 232 PW Hospital, Northwick Park, Blockley, Worcs. | 240 Hawkstone Park, Shrewsbury, Shropshire. |
| 167 Shady Lane Camp, Stoughton, Leics. | 185 Springhill Lodge Camp, Moreton in Marsh, Glos. | 235 'The Arches', Felden, Nr. Hemel Hempstead, Herts. | 241 Merivale Hall Camp, Atherstone, Warwickshire. |
| 168 Glen Mill Camp, Oldham, Lancs. | 186 Berechurch Hall Camp, Colchester, Essex. | 236 'Nine Wells', Chirnside, Duns, Berwickshire. | 245 Butcher Hill Camp, Leeds. |
| 171 PW Base Camp, Bungay, Suffolk. | 189 Marbury Hall Camp, Northwich, Cheshire. | 237 Co-ed Bell Camp, Lubbeck Road, Chislehurst, Kent. | 246 Basildon House, Nr. Pangbourne, Berks. |
| 174 Norton Camp, Cuckney, Mansfield, Cuckney, Notts. | 194 Council Houses Camp, Penkridge, Staffs. | 238 Brockhouse, Ardingley, Haywards Heath, Sussex. | 247 Urebank Camp, Ripon, Yorkshire. |
| 175 Flaxly Green Camp, Rugeley, Staffs. | 196 Arbury Hall Camp, Nuneaton, Warwickshire. | 239 Weston Acres, Woodmansterne, Banstead, Surrey. | 248 Norton Camp, Cinderhill Lane, Norton, Sheffield. |
| 177 Warth Mills Camp, Bury, Lancs. | 230 Stuchendoff Camp, Shandon, Helensburgh, Dumbartonshire. | | 249 Carburton Camp, Worksop, Notts. |
| 180 Radwinter North Camp, Wimbish, Saffron Walden, Essex. | 231 231 PW Hospital, Redgrave Park, Suffolk. | | 250 Eden Camp, Old Malton, Yorks. |



Stephen Alsop took in the camp, situated just west of the A169 north of Malton, during the tour of northern England and Scotland in 1990. With the addition of barbed wire

and other ephemera of the period, visiting Eilen Camp was like stepping backwards in time for Horst, although, in his case, he had much more freedom.



After investing upwards of £750,000 in the restoration of Eden Camp and the equipping of 20 huts with themed displays, Stan Johnson opened the camp to the public in 1987. The original layout with the uses of the various buildings so far determined: (1) Officers' Mess. (3) Labour

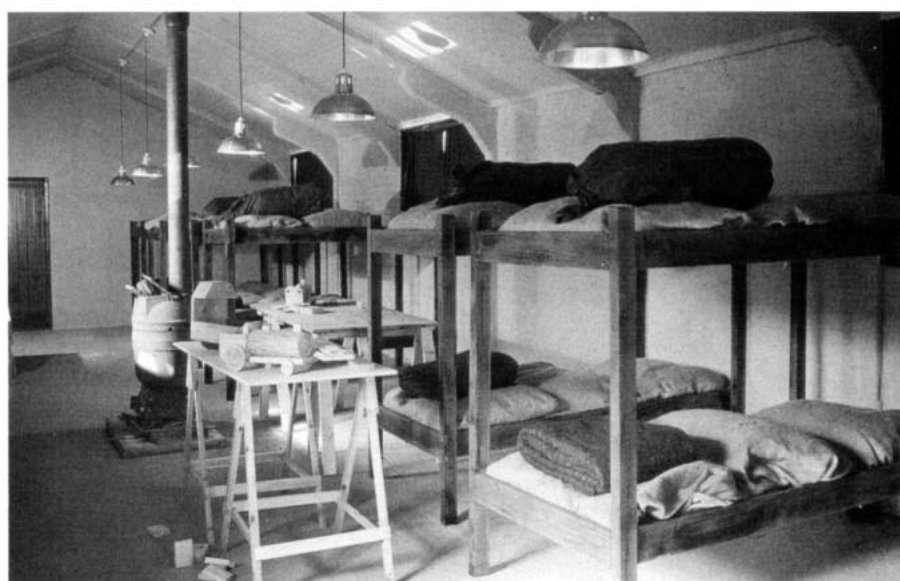
Office. (4) Water tower. (7) Orderly Room. (8) Detention block. (9) Armoury. (10) Guards' quarters. (13) Commanding Officer's quarters. (17) Hospital. (18) Kitchen and canteen. (19) Cooks' quarters. (24) Laundry. (25) Ablutions. (27) Theatre. (26), (28)–(33), (35)–(42) Prisoners' accommodation.

- 251 East Cams Camp, Fareham, Hants.
- 252 PW Military Hospital, Abergwili, Carmarthen.
- 253 Mousehold Heath Camp, Norwich, Norfolk.
- 256 Wellingham House, Market Rasen, Lincs.
- 257 Penygillan Farm Camp, Launceston, Cornwall.
- 258 Ellough Airfield, Beccles, Suffolk.
- 259 Weekley Camp, Weekley, Kettering, Northants.

- 260 Hardwick Heath, Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk.
- 262 RAF Camp, Langar cum Barnston, Nottingham.
- 263 Leckhampton Court Camp, Cheltenham, Glos.
- 266 Hutted Camp, Langdon Hills, Laindon, Essex.
- 268 Norduk Farm, Aston Abbots, Aylesbury, Bucks.

- 270 Luton Airport Camp, Luton, Bedfordshire.
- 273 Debach Airfield, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
- 276 Nisson Creek, Pinhoe, Nr. Exeter.
- 277 Recreation Grounds, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcester.
- 278 WD Camp, Clapham, Bedford.
- 279 Militia Camp, Yaxley, Hunts.

- 280 North Lynn Farm Camp, King's Lynn, Norfolk.
- 283 WD Camp, Ledsham Hall, Ledsham, Little Sutton, Wirral, Cheshire.
- 284 Abbey Road Camp, Neath, Glamorgan.
- 286 Purfleet Camp, Purfleet, Essex.
- 289 Lydiard House, Lydiard Millicent, Swindon, Wilts.
- 292 Donna Nook Airfield, North Somercotes, Louth, Lincs.
- 293 Carronbridge Camp, Carronbridge, Dumfries.
- 294 Fisher's Camp, Alton, Hampshire.
- 295 Cattistock Camp, Cattistock, Dorchester, Dorset.
- 296 Ravenfield Park Camp, Rotherham, Yorkshire.
- 298 The Barony Camp, Dumfries.
- 300 Wilton Park, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
- 402 Camp C19, The Avenue, Southampton Common, Southampton.
- 411 The Wynches, Much Hadham, Herts.
- 412 Langdon Barracks, Dover.
- 434 Talgarth Military Hospital, Talgarth, Brecon.
- 614 Stoneham Camp, Eastleigh, Hants.
- 632 Old Windmills Camp, Blackthorn, Bicester, Oxon.



Each of the huts is fitted out with displays covering different themes in wartime Britain. Hut 10 depicts life for the prisoners at Eden Camp during the war.



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|--|--|
| 634 Alvaston Camp,
Meadow Lane, Derby. | 664 Stadium Camp,
Catterick Camp,
Yorkshire. |
| 651 'N' Camp South,
Donnington,
Shropshire. | 667 Stoneleigh Camp,
Stoneleigh, Coventry,
Warwickshire. |
| 652 Durnells Farm Camp,
COD Didcot, Berks. | 668 Aliwell Barracks,
North Tidworth, Hants. |
| 653 Old Windmills Camp,
Blackthorn, Bicester, Oxon. | 669 West Ridge Camp,
Greenford, Middlesex. |
| 658 Hill Camp, Westbury,
Wilts. | 670 St Radigund's Camp,
Dover, Kent. |
| 660 Patterton Camp,
Thornliebank, Glasgow. | 672 Farge Camp,
Larkhill, Wilts. |
| 661 Lefnoll Camp,
Cairnyaran, Stranraer,
Wigtownshire. | 675 Olddean Common Camp,
Camberley, Surrey. |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 676 Puckridge Camp,
Fleet Road, Aldershot,
Hants. | 1012 Canwick Camp,
Canwick, Lincoln. |
| 677 New Inn Camp,
Pontypool, Mon. | 1013 Deer Park Camp,
Dalkeith, Midlothian. |
| 678 Fort Crosby, Hightown,
Nr. Liverpool, Lancs. | 1015 Station Road Camp,
Tadcaster, Yorkshire. |
| 679 83 OSD
Wem, Shrewsbury,
Shropshire. | 1016 Old Bean Common,
Camberley, Surrey. |
| 680 Harwich Transit Camp,
Harwich, Essex. | 1018 Acksea Camp,
Kinnerley, Oswestry,
Shropshire. |
| 682 Rockport, Craigavad,
Co. Down, N Ireland. | 1019 Beamont Barracks,
Aldershot, Hants. |
| 683 Camp E30,
COD Bicester,
Craven Hill,
Oxford. | 1021 Merley Park Camp,
Wimborne Minster,
Dorset. |
| 685 No. 3 Camp, ESCD,
Long Marston,
Stratford-on-Avon. | 1022 Cross Keys Camp,
Norton Fitzwarren,
Taunton, Somerset. |
| 686 686 GPW Coy,
Moreton on Lugg,
Hereford. | 1023 No. 1 Camp,
Sudbury, Nr. Derby. |
| 688 Park Camp,
Lulworth Cove, Dorset. | 1025 Histon Camp,
Milton Road, Cambridge. |

GROUP PIONEER CORPS

- | |
|---|
| 17 22 Hyde Park Gardens,
London, W2. |
| 23 Green Fields Camp,
Ellesmore Road,
Shrewsbury. |
| 25 Cloister Croft Camp,
Leamington Spa,
Warwickshire. |
| 27 3 Magdala Road,
Nottingham. |
| 29 Claremont,
Abergavenny, Mon. |
| 30 Anglesey House,
Hoath End, Aldershot,
Hants. |
| 33 St Martin's Plain,
Shorncliffe, Kent. |
| 36 Walworth Castle,
Darlington, Co. Durham. |
| 37 Colley Lane,
Bridgewater, Somerset. |
| 52 Cholderton House,
Cholderton, Wilts. |
| 65 Bank Hall, Bretherton,
Nr. Preston, Lancs. |
| 71 Lower Hare Park,
Nr. Newmarket, Cambs. |
| 105 Inchdrewer House,
Colinton, Edinburgh. |



